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in struggle
Detroit Anarchists on the Move.

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ILLEGALISM

out by these "bandits and adventurers" in order to finance their publications, free schools and union activities.

From the period after the repression of the Paris Commune through the Spanish revolution and up to the round-up of anarchists in Italy this decade, bombers such as Ravachol, gun men like Durruti and bank robbers like those alleged to have operated in Italy have inspired loathing by the respectable voices of anarchism while winning the admiration and emulation of the working classes of their countries. The U.K. saw its own uprising of uncontrolables - The Angry Brigade - a group which not only did not exist, but carried out hundreds of bombings, expropriations, pranks and stunts. Once the media-generated hysteria surrounding their fabricated "terrorist" group began, people across the land joined in. The resulting turmoil infuriated the scholars and self-appointed leaders of the anarcho-liberal mainstream, some of whom had the - in their eyes - dubious honor of having to stand trial for AB actions.

That's Revolting!

When social change groups and movements keep to their place - as ineffective, impotent, cathartic activism - their leaders and spokespersons are awarded accolades and treats. They become scholars, historians, voices of the alleged repression. But once they step beyond the socially acceptable realm of whining and gnashing their teeth and truly challenge the authority of their overlords, they are branded as criminally terrorists and kooks. This is only appropriate, as the powerful are not in the least interested in losing their power and privileges. The leaders and spokespersons of the loyal opposition are often at the forefront of this effort, lest they lose their social goodies in the repression of the insurgent uncontrollables.

Throughout the history of anarchist revolutionary movements, those who did the front-line fighting (and suffered the consequences) seldom took the time to write down their thoughts, acknowledge their inspiration or record their actions. To be sure, such records could have been used by the state to prosecute their comrades and loved ones. So, the overwhelming majority of anarchist histories and other scholarship has been written by those who pooh-poohed the daring and bravery of the insurgents from the comfort and safety of their studies.

revolutionary fury have not yet happened. Until the world - in part or entirely - has been freed from the yoke of capitalism and all other forms of privilege and authority, more people will revolt and with increasing urgency. Even now, in the midst of an ever-expanding economy, every day people are coming to the realization that western civilization has reached a dead end and it's time to do something different. More and more people - especially those under social pressure to find their vocational niche and get to work - are turning to illegal means to create an imaginative existence of expansive potentialities. They've already weighed the possible consequences of their actions and have concluded that it is worth the risk. Because... We Have the World to Win and Nothing to Lose!

Under the current order, our lives are only nominally our own. Our governments, our employers, banks and insurance companies have more say about how we dress, look, think and what we imbibe than we do. If every facet of our lives is measured, timed, bought and sold, then can we be said to be alive, or have we become animated machinery?

To turn away from this horrifying existence is to become an outlaw, to drift off into marginalization and cross the boundary into illegality.

by Rob Joe Ricos

Rob is currently serving a 7 year, 4 month sentence for his involvement in the June 18 Reclaim the Streets riot in Eugene. You can write him at:

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ILLEGALISM

"...a mighty, reckless, shameless, conscienceless, proud, CRIME, does it not rumble in distant thunder..."

-Max Stirner, *The Ego and It's Own*

Crime - an act in violation of the law. Whether the act is a conscious defiance of morals and authority or the realization of frustrated desires, the criminal rejects the acceptable roles offered him or her in favor of creating a new self-defined one. Though this doesn't always lead to a rejection of the dominant forces of the society involved, rampant and blatant disregard of the law is a sign of a society in deterioration and usually leads to a complete break down of the social order. When a society is dependent upon the exploitation and subjugation of its citizens, the subversion of the social order by the defiant actions of those same people against the forces of law and order offers them their purely symbolic civil disobedience nor lack market sub-economies threatened the status quo. Civil disobedience merely reinforces the roles of rulers and ruled, while black markets need the continued existence of the state to limit competition and provide the infrastructure which supports both above and underground economies - nationally currency. Rather than military conflict with the nation/states or rampant terroristic campaigns against the "enemy" population, people who wish to create a revolutionary situation according to the realization of an expansive liberatory existence could take into consideration the example of the legalists.

French Illegalists

Pre-WW1 France was the setting for the only documented anarchist revolutionary movement to embrace all illegal activity as revolutionary practice. Pick-pocketing, theft from the workplace, robbery, confidence scams, assertion from the armed forces - you name it - illegal activity was praised as a justifiable and necessary aspect of class struggle. Some of the most widely circulated French anarchist newspapers and journals urged their readers to commit crime, including papers published and edited by Russian expatriate Victor Serge, and those by Reclus. Indeed, it seems that Reclus's unrelenting support of illegal activity has at him widespread translation and influence in non-French speaking nations. One of hisographers referred to his "laws in judgment" without discussing his unapologetic stance on gallam. Reclus was the only major anarchist theorist who never recanted his public support of

theorist who never recanted his public support of illegalism, even after the vilification of the Bonnot 'Gang' and police repression which followed. (see Richard Parry's book *The Bonnot Gang* for a detailed account)

In France, and elsewhere since, the suppression of anarchist working class papers and organizations was given a "tsk-tsk" by the liberal utopians, those who wish to transform society through gradual, peaceful methods (such as education and establishing co-operatives). This anarcho-aristocratic attitude still exists and is one reason why anarchy and anarchists continue to be marginalized and all but irrelevant as a revolutionary movement.

Someone might get in TROUBLE!

The risk of being caught, hurt and even killed is present in all illegal actions. To the poor and working classes, this is not a deterrent to criminal activity, merely part of the equation - "Is this goal worth the risk?" After pondering the pro's and con's of the situation, the criminal gives up or carries on and if caught - well, that's how it goes, and better luck next time.

It is here that class distinctions enter the picture. To some poor people, life in jail is not so much worse than life on the streets. Instead, to many poor people in the "underdeveloped" world, life in a U.S. jail would be an almost incalculable improvement over the conditions of their current status. When insurgents take to illegal activity - using underground illegal squats, carrying out armed robberies to support themselves, etc. - among their most vocal critics are the liberals and activists who, if they were to be too closely associated with the illegal actions of their comrades, could stand to lose their student financing, jobs or gasp - trust funds. With so much depending on their reputations, the liberals will sometimes even go so far as to co-operate with the state in apprehension, denunciation and incarceration of those who they feel have gone too far. And recently endangered other people's careers.

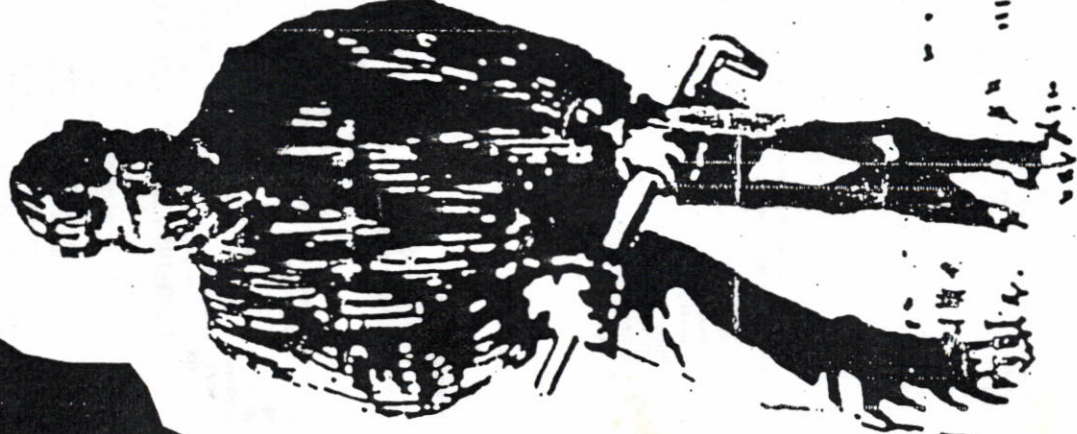
The Uncontrollable

For better or worse, anarchist revolutionary movements have always attracted people who adamantly refuse to follow orders or obey rules - even those presented by anarchist organizations. Branded as uncontrollable, these loose cannons bring discredit to anarchist ideals - or so the high-minded utopians and scholars would have us believe. However, these same utopians never fail to have a hand out to accept the plunder shared out by these "bandits and adventurers" in order to

Security Culture

What it is, why we need it and how we implement it

Revised Spring 1999



Luddites; abolitionists; union organizers; revolutionaries...

from large uprisings challenging the entire political structure, to isolated battles over the working conditions of a single factory, people have struggled to create a better world. Governments have always responded by jailing activists and revolutionaries, using their courts and their police forces to maintain the status quo.

As our direct action movement becomes more effective, government surveillance and harassment will increase. To minimize the destructiveness of this political repression, it is imperative that we create a security culture within our movement.

This pamphlet is essential reading for anyone who is associated with groups that advocate and/or utilize sabotage, animal liberation, or more militant tactics. The advice herein also applies to anyone who is associated with groups that practice civil disobedience, especially since membership often overlaps and gossip travels freely between groups.

Even if you have never picked up a monkey-wrench or been arrested for civil disobedience, even if you think you have nothing to hide, these guidelines will enhance your personal safety as well as the movement's overall effectiveness.

Grand juries will go after activists from all portions of a movement. And the government is not beyond fabricating evidence to convict mainstream organizations if given any kind of opportunity to build a case. The history of the FBI's COINTELPRO operations should never be forgotten. The U.S. government has targeted groups that have advocated sabotage and groups that have not, movements that have been militant and movements that have been markedly pacifist. The government's security machinery (FBI, ATF, DEA, U.S. Marshals, state police, local police, courts, prisons and parole offices) serves *political* objectives. There are more than 200 political prisoners in the U.S. who can testify to this from firsthand experience. By adopting a security culture, we can defeat various counterintelligence operations that would otherwise disrupt both mainstream organizing and underground resistance.

SO WHAT IS SECURITY CULTURE?

It's a culture where the people know their rights and, more importantly, assert them. Those who belong to a security culture also know what behavior compromises security and they are quick to educate those people who, out of ignorance, forgetfulness, or personal weakness, partake in insecure behavior. This security consciousness becomes a culture when the group as a whole makes security violations socially and morally unacceptable in the group.

WHAT NOT TO SAY

To begin with, there are certain things that are inappropriate to discuss. These things include:

- your involvement or someone else's involvement with an underground group;
- someone else's desire to get involved with such a group;
- asking others if they are a member of an underground group;
- your participation or someone else's participation in any action that was illegal;
- someone else's advocacy for such actions;
- your plans or someone else's plans for a future action.

Can you see a pattern? It is wrong to speak about a specific individual's involvement (past, present or future) with illegal activities. These are unacceptable topics of discussion regardless of whether it is rumor, speculation or personal knowledge. **Please note: no one is claiming it is wrong to speak about direct action in general terms. It is perfectly legal, secure and desirable that people speak out in support of money-wrenching and all forms of resistance. The danger lies in linking individual activists to specific actions or groups.**

THREE EXCEPTIONS

There are only three times when it is acceptable to speak about this information. The first situation is when you are planning an action with other members of your small group (your "cell" or "affinity group"). However, you should never discuss actions over the Internet (e-mail), or the phone, through the mail, or inside an activist's home or car because these places and forms of communication are frequently monitored. The only people who should hear this discussion are those individuals who are actively participating in this particular action. **Anyone who is not involved does not need to know and therefore should not know.**

The second exception occurs after an activist has been arrested and brought to trial. If she is found guilty, this activist can freely speak of the actions for which she was convicted. However, she must never give information that would help the authorities determine who else participated in illegal activities.

The third exception is for anonymous letters and interviews with the media. This must be done very carefully and without compromising security. Advice on secure communication techniques can be found in other publications.

These are the only situations when it is appropriate to speak about your own or someone else's involvement in or intent to commit illegal direct action.

SECURITY MEASURES

Veteran activists only allow a select few to know about their involvement with direct action groups. And those few consist of individuals with whom they do the action and **no one else!**

The reason for this security precaution is quite obvious: if people don't know anything, they can't talk about it. The only people who know the secret are the ones who actually face jail time if the secret gets out. If other activists who do not share the same serious consequences know who did an illegal direct action, they are far more likely to talk if harassed and intimidated by the authorities, because they will not be jailed. Even those people who are trustworthy can often be tricked into revealing damaging and incriminating information.

So it is safest for all cell members to keep their involvement in the group amongst themselves. The fewer people who know, the less evidence there is to bust them.

SECURITY-VIOLATING BEHAVIORS

In an attempt to impress others, activists may behave in ways that compromise security. Some people do this frequently — they are habitually gossiping and bragging. Some activists say inappropriate things only when they consume alcohol. Many activists make occasional breaches of security because there was a momentary temptation to say something or hint at something that shouldn't have been said or implied. In most every situation, the desire to be accepted is the root cause.

Those activists who tend to be the greatest security risks are people who have low self-esteem and strongly desire the approval of their peers. Certainly it is natural to seek friendship and recognition for our efforts, but it is imperative that we keep these selfish desires in check so that we do not jeopardize the safety of other activists or ourselves. People who place their desire for friendship over the importance of the cause can do serious damage to our security.

The following are examples of security-violating behaviors:

LYING: To impress others, liars claim to have done illegal actions. Such lies not only compromise the person's security — as cops will not take what is said as a lie — but these claims also hinder movement solidarity and trust.

Gossiping: Some weak characters think they can win friends by displaying that they are privy to special information. These gossips will tell others about who did what

"We would call the women together and explain to them... that there is a clearly defined role for women, that women should not lose their independence, but that a woman can be a mother and a combatant at the same time... Young women would come over to me and say 'This is very interesting. What you're saying we've never heard before. It's something that we've felt, but we didn't know'..." The ideas that grabbed them the most? Talk about the power men exercised over women... There would be a kind of uproar when you would say to them, "We cannot permit men to think themselves superior to women, that they have a right to rule over them"... I think that Spanish women were waiting anxiously for that call."

Many of Spain's workers and peasants were illiterate. In response, the women of Mujeres Libres set up literacy programs, technically oriented classes, and classes in social studies. Between 600-800 women were attending these classes each day in Barcelona in December 1938. In cooperation with the Anarchist unions they set up apprenticeship programs.

Hand in hand with producing propaganda came the day-to-day work necessary to defend their revolution from fascist attack. They supplied food to the militias and set up community dining rooms. They organized support for women in the militias, setting up shooting ranges and target practice classes. They set up a school for nurses and an emergency medical clinic to treat those injured in the fighting.

Teresa, despite her lack of experience in the medical field was named administrator. Here she speaks with pride of her role:

"I remember how many times fathers would come up to me in the clinic to request something, and I would say, 'Please, here all of us are equal! And they would say to me, 'Here, you really have made the revolution.' I had such satisfaction from this. Because I administered the whole thing without any education... What I believed, that's what I put in practice there... and that's what I can tell you of what I did for the revolution. The rest, I did what everyone else did. But this was something I did."

However the revolution was more than defeating Fascism, it was about building a new society which cared for the needs of all. Traveling through Catalonia and Aragon members of Mujeres Libres helped to establish rural collectives. Many women went with representatives of the Anarchist union (CNT) and the Anarchist federation (FAI) with makeshift loud speakers calling on peasants to "come over to our side."

In Barcelona they ran a lying-in hospital, which provided birth and post-natal care for women, as well as classes on child and maternal health, birth control and sexuality. An Institute of Maternal and Childcare, named after the French Anarchist, Louise Michel, was set up in Barcelona in February 1938.

Mujeres Libres provide a living example of many important aspects of Anarchist theory. Firstly, they understood that the collective is only as strong as the individuals that make it up. In order to build a strong Anarchist movement, they encouraged and supported women to fulfill their full potential. Indeed many members of Mujeres Libres were only 13 or 14 years old when the revolution started. Yet, like Teresa above, they discovered that they did have the ability to undertake the challenging task of building a new world.

Secondly Mujeres Libres understood the importance of direct action and self-activity, both in making revolutionaries and making a revolution. They didn't make an artificial distinction between propaganda and organizing, between ideas and action. Their ideas were formed by their experiences on the ground.

Finally, the Mujeres Libres showed that ideas are never set in stone, to be implemented when the right time comes. Their ideas grew and developed, changed and became influential.

Revolution is a messy business. In order to change society fundamentally, long held ideas about what is normal and natural have to be challenged. New revolutionaries and a new revolutionary society will result from the arguments and debates that are held in many different places - the home, the supermarket, the pub - by many different people.

Mujeres Libres saw the revolution as far more than a single overnight event. It is also a process, continually changing, as disagreements are resolved, and new disputes are identified. They showed that revolution, far from being a dry academic endeavor is like life, never simple and straightforward, but dynamic.

MUJERES LIBRES

THE ANARCHIST WOMEN'S MOVEMENT DURING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

By Aileen O'Carroll, Workers Solidarity Movement, Ireland/Eire

Mujeres Libres (Free Women) were a group of women Anarchists who organized and fought both for women's liberation and an Anarchist revolution during the Spanish Civil War. The work they did is truly inspirational. Their example shows how the struggle against women's oppression and against capitalism can be combined in one fight for freedom.

As Anarchists they rejected any relegation of women to a secondary position within the libertarian movement. In the 1910's feminism had a narrower meaning than it does now, and they rejected it as a theory which fought for 'equality of women within an existing system of privileges'. They argued

"We are not, and were not then feminists. We were not fighting against men. We did not want to substitute a feminist hierarchy for a masculine one. It is necessary to work, to struggle, together because if we don't we'll never have a social revolution. But we needed our own organization to struggle for ourselves".

They said:

"We are aware of the precedents set by both feminist organizations and by the political parties... We could not follow either of these paths. We could not separate the women's problem from the social problem. Nor could we deny the significance of the first by converting women into a simple instrument for any organization, even... our own libertarian organization.

The intention that underlay our activities was much broader: to serve a doctrine, not a party, to empower women to make of them individuals capable of contributing to the structuring of the future society, individuals who have learned to be self-determining, not to follow blindly the dictates of any organization".

Mujeres Libres had a two pronged strategy of capacitación (preparing) and captación (incorporation or participation). Their early work was a combination of consciousness raising and direct action.

In order to gain mutual support, they created networks of women Anarchists. Attending meetings with one another, they checked out reports of social behavior and worked out how to deal with it. Flying day-care centers were set up in efforts to involve more women in union activities.

A journal was produced, distributed and advertised via existing Anarchist networks. In it women reported on what work they were actually doing. Consciousness raising was important, every issue had an article about exceptional women, and they also published a column in other Anarchist magazines. In addition their journal printed articles on cultural themes, on education, on movies, on sport. Finally there were articles that would have been seen in any women's magazine, on the value of gas, on childcare, on fashion. Later on books and pamphlets would supplement the journal.

Propaganda work was carried out via radio broadcasts, traveling libraries and propaganda tours. One member, Pepita, described her experience on propaganda trips:

action. If they don't know anything about a particular action, gossips may talk about who they guess might be involved or they will just spread rumors about who did it. This sort of talk is very damaging. People need to remember that more rumors are sufficient to initiate a grand jury.

BRAGGING: Some people who partake in illegal direct action might be tempted to brag about it to their friends. If someone did such a thing, it would not only jeopardize the security of the bragger and the other people involved with the action, but it places the people who he or she told at risk. They can become accessories after the fact. They can also be subpoenaed by a grand jury and forced to choose between lying to the grand jury (a serious crime), refusing to cooperate (potentially resulting in months of imprisonment), or betraying the movement by repeating the information that they were needlessly told. An activist who brags also sets a horrible example for other activists.

IMPROPER BRAGGING: Indirect-braggers are people who make a big production on how they want to remain anonymous, avoid protests, and stay "underground." They might not come out and say they do illegal direct action, but they make sure everyone within earshot knows they are up to something. They are no better than braggars, but they try to be more sophisticated about it by pretending to maintain "security." However, if they were serious about security, they would just make up a good excuse as to why they are not as active, or why they can't make it to the protest (that kind of lying is definitely acceptable).

EDUCATE TO LIBERATE

With what we now know about security, it is easy to spot those activists who compromise our movement's security. So what do we do with people who exhibit these behaviors? Do we communicate them from our movement? Actually, no — at least not for their first mistake.

The unfortunate truth is that there are numerous security-ignorant people in the movement and others who have been raised in a "scene" that thrives on bragging and gossiping. It doesn't mean these people are bad, but it does mean they need to be educated. Even seasoned activists can make mistakes when there is a general lack of security consciousness in our groups. And that's where those of you who are reading this can help. We must never allow a breach of security to occur without acting to correct it. If an acquaintance of yours is bragging about doing an action or is spreading security-compromising gossip, it is your responsibility to explain to her or him why that sort of talk violates security and is inappropriate within our movement.

You should strive to educate this person in a manner that encourages him to listen and to change his behavior. It should be done without damaging his pride. You should be humble and sincerely interested in helping him to become a better person and a more effective activist. Do not maintain a "holier-than-thou" attitude. This attitude will inevitably raise his defenses and prevent him from absorbing or using any of the advice you offer. Remember that the goal of educating him is to change his behavior, not boost your ego by showing him how much more security-conscious you are.

If possible the educational session should be conducted in private, so the person doesn't feel humiliated by a public reprimand. The educational session should occur as soon as possible after the mistake to increase its effectiveness.

If each of us takes on the responsibility of educating those who slip up, we can dramatically improve movement security. Once we recognize lying, gossiping, bragging and indirect bragging as the damaging character flaws that they are, they will soon end. When we develop a culture where all breaches of security result in an immediate response, all sincere activists will quickly get with the program.

DEALING WITH CHRONIC SECURITY PROBLEMS

So what do we do with activists who repeatedly violate security precautions even after multiple educational sessions? It's unfortunate but necessary to cut them loose and kick them out of our meetings, basecamps and organizations. With the FBI doubling in size and with courts handing down stiff sentences, the stakes are too high to allow chronic security-offenders to work among us.

By creating a security culture, we have an effective defense against informers and agents who try to infiltrate groups. Imagine an informer who, every time she asked another activist about that person's involvement with some group or action, received a reprimand and an education on security. That informer would quickly get frustrated. Once activists discovered that she continued to violate security precautions after being repeatedly reprimanded, they would have grounds for her dismissal. That would be one less informer for us to deal with!

DON'T STOP HERE

It is also imperative that each of us understands our rights. Make it a priority that everyone in your group learns about the following topics:

- Grand juries and how to deal with them;
- COINTELPRO tactics for destroying movements and how to protect ourselves;
- What to do if the cops knock on your door;
- What to do if the cops stop you on the street;
- What to do if you are arrested.

The following are indispensable resources:

- *War at Home* by Brian Clink (South End Press)
- *If an Agent Knocks*, a pamphlet by The Center for Constitutional Rights

ADOPT A SECURITY CULTURE NOW

Activists are restless and resistance is on the rise. People are adopting more and more effective tactics. Now, more than ever, resistance poses a serious threat to the status quo in this country. Our increased activity and effectiveness mean that the FBI, ATF, and local police will continue to escalate their COINTELPRO activities against activists. If we want our direct action to continue, it is imperative we start tightening our security and taking ourselves more seriously. Good security is certainly the strongest defense we have.

ANARCHISM AND FREEDOM

Anarchism is the philosophy of freedom. We believe in a society where the freedom of each person is limited only by the freedom of everyone. We are born free yet everywhere we are enslaved. This is because the idea of "freedom" in a capitalist society is confused with "Social Darwinism". The idea that a few people should be allowed to dominate, terrorize and exploit everyone else. While this may be the fantasy of the rich, it is not *freedom*. Freedom cannot be achieved by taking over the government or becoming a new ruling elite because, so long as one group of people try to place themselves above everyone else, then everyone else will still not be free.

True freedom is also not defined by "Civil Rights". "Rights" are a perversion of *freedom* invented to trick us into believing that we owe our freedom to governments. In truth, we are born free and the purpose of governments is to take that freedom away in order to protect the money, property and privileges of the rich, the Ruling Class. All "Civil Rights" are in a system by which the government rations a portion of our freedom back to us (after they have stolen it in the first place) in order to create the illusion of freedom or convince us that we are free from others who are also enslaved by the coercion of legislators, cops, armies, courts and prisons which await those who ask why some are more free than others. The truth is that if we allow ourselves to be dependent upon coercive institutions (like courts) created by the rich and coercive authorities appointed by the rich for a measure of freedom defined by THEIR interpretation of our "rights" then we are no more free than animals in a zoo whose zookeepers decide how large our cages are or how long our chains should be so that we can believe we are free, but still be under their control.

True freedom is not measured by the power or authority the rich allow us to have, but by the ability to govern ourselves. If we allow ourselves to believe that THEY give us freedom then we are giving up our freedom any time they choose to take it away or anytime they threaten to take it if we don't do what they say.

True freedom is not measured by the money, property or consumer goods the rich allow us to have, but by controlling the wealth created by our own labor ourselves. The ability to have a credit card, a car or a big screen television is no more a measure of freedom than the ability to have a full stomach and a place to live on welfare. It does not change the fact that the rich steal the value of what we produce with our labor and only allow us a portion of it. It does not change the fact that whether we work or are on welfare we are in a coercive relationship where our ability to eat and have a home is tied to our obedience to a boss or the government.

True freedom begins when we take responsibility for our own actions. This means that we are not willing to let other people tell us what to think or how to live. We question what we have been taught by parents and social institutions. We question the motives and agenda of politicians, bosses and the capitalist news media. We question the injustice we see in the World around us and reject the excuses for it given by people with wealth and social privilege. **PERSONAL** freedom is a lifelong pursuit of understanding yourself and the World around you through self-education, personal experience and introspection (thinking about what you have read and experienced, comparing it to things you learned before and trying to understand more).

Anarchists believe that to have **PERSONAL** freedom we must also have **SOCIAL** freedom. Most people do not live alone. We are one person in a community of people. We are one worker in a group of workers at a workplace. Our ability to have **PERSONAL** freedom is dependent upon our ability to cooperate with others in our community and our workplace in order to make collective decisions about things which affect everyone in the group so that we can live in ways where everyone benefits from their labor and has their interests taken into consideration and injustices are weeded out by the group. **SOCIAL** freedom begins when we recognize that no individual, clique or social class can have power over us or take advantage of us if everyone else refuses to obey them. We recognize that our refusal (our "Free Will") is more powerful than their coercion if we exercise it as a group. This means that instead of letting the rich trick us into competing with each other over a small portion of the freedom or wealth they steal from us, we get together and decide not to let them steal it in the first place and we all end up with more than any individual who plays *the rat game*.

SOCIAL freedom also means that we reject the ideas the rich invent to trick us into competing, so we don't work together. Anarchists believe that to be free we must replace the idea of "survival of the fittest" with the practice of Mutual Aid. "All for one and one for all" and "An injury to one is an injury to all." People have a natural feeling of compassion every time they see someone wronged because they know it could happen to them. We believe that this idea of "Solidarity" and the willingness of people to cooperate in groups for the benefit of everyone are the keys to enabling the greatest **PERSONAL** freedom for everyone.



DEPRESSED?

FED UP? UNHAPPY?



TAKE OUT YOUR TENSIONS ON THE REAL ENEMY

YOU KNOW IT MAKES SENSE...

THE PARIS COMMUNE

"A place where people still laugh..."

Rooted in a history of revolution from 1789 through to the workers' revolts in the 1830s and 1840s, the Paris Commune of 1871 was the first great urban insurrection of modern times. For anarchists it was proof of their vision. As Kropotkin wrote: *"A new idea was born... the point of departure of future revolutions."*

In 1870 the French government lost a humiliating war against Prussia. Popular anger against the government sparked a chain of revolts throughout France. As the Prussian army closed around Paris its populace rushed to join the neighbourhood battalions of the National Guard and soon 384,000 had volunteered. With the people in arms, the government fled the capital for Versailles and made peace with the Prussians. Next the government had to regain control of a defiant Paris, and on March 18th, 1871, it sent in troops to regain the National Guard cannon.

Soldiers refused to fire on the jeering crowds, though, and turned their weapons on officers, shooting their commander. The Commune had begun.

Leading the spontaneous rising, the National Guard seized public buildings, churches and houses of the wealthy and handed them over to the numerous political 'clubs' and committees which sprang up. The people became involved in running the entire city, delegates being elected on a

temporary basis and having constantly to report back to their districts. By May, 43 factories were cooperatively run and the Louvre museum was a munitions factory run by a workers' council.

The Commune gave priority to education — one child in three would otherwise have had no schooling at all — and the National Guard evicted nuns and priests from the city's schools. An all-women committee, including the anarchist Louise Michel, organised classes for women, and opened girls' schools and day nurseries near the factories.

One of the most striking aspects of the Paris Commune was its carnival atmosphere. It was a 'festival of the oppressed': the city had 'all the signs of being on holiday... The excitement was so intense that people moved about as if in a dream... Paris was 'a place where people still laugh.' But it was only to last for 73 days. With the city under continuous siege, food became scarce and soaring prices led to extreme hardship.



On May 1st, government troops entered the starving city. Seven days of bitter fighting followed before, one by one, all of the Commune's barricades were overcome. A terrible slaughter followed. Squads of soldiers and armed members of the bourgeoisie roamed the streets killing and maiming at will. At least 30,000 communards died in the aftermath.

PROPAGANDA BY DEED

The defeat of the Commune left the French workers defenceless and gave the bourgeoisie a new confidence. Existing industry, mainly carried out in small craft workshops, was rapidly transformed by the development of production-line factories. Workers were powerless. Long hours, low wages and rigid discipline meant greater poverty; any attempt to organise a union meant the sack and starvation. In reply, anarchists began a campaign of violence. The era of 'Propaganda by the Deed' had begun.

'Placid and carefree sleeps the bourgeoisie, but the day of shuddering and fear, of ferocious tempests, of bloody revenge is approaching. The savage, blinding light of explosions begins to light up its dreams, property trembles and cracks under the deafening blows of dynamite, the palaces of stone crack open providing a breach through which will pour the wave of the poor and the starving.'

Here is the hour of revenge, the bombs have sounded the charge — by Dynamite to Anarchy!



REMEMBER THE HISTORY

For 20 years the anarchists struck out with bomb, pistol or dagger at every King, President, Minister or millionaire that came within reach:

ANTI-AUTHORITARIANS ANONYMOUS

"WE HAVE TO DISMANTLE ALL THIS" (1995)

The unprecedented reality of the present is one of enormous sorrow and cynicism, "a great tear in the human heart," as Richard Rodriguez put it. A time of ever-mounting everyday horrors, of which any newspaper is full, accompanies a spreading environmental apocalypse. Alienation and the more literal contaminants compete for the leading role in the deadly dialectic of life in divided, technology-ridden society. Cancer, unknown before civilization, now seems epidemic in a society increasingly barren and literally malignant.

Soon, apparently, everyone will be using drugs; prescription and illegal becoming a relatively unimportant distinction. Attention Deficit Disorder is one example of an oppressive effort to medicalize the rampant restlessness and anxiety caused by a life-world ever more shriveled and unfulfilling. The ruling order will evidently go to any lengths to deny social reality; its techno-psychiatry views human suffering as chiefly biological in nature and genetic in origin.

New strains of disease, impervious to industrial medicine, begin to spread globally while fundamentalism (Christian, Judaic, Islamic) is also on the rise, a sign of deeply-felt misery and frustration. And here at home New Age spirituality (Adorno's "philosophy for dunces") and the countless varieties of "healing" therapies wear thin in their delusional pointlessness. To assert that we can be whole/enlightened/healed within the present madness amounts to endorsing the madness.

The gap between rich and poor is widening markedly in this land of the homeless and the imprisoned. Anger rises and massive denial, cornerstone of the system's survival, is now at least having a troubled sleep. A false world is beginning to get the amount of support it deserves: distrust of public institutions is almost total. But the social landscape seems frozen and the pain of youth is perhaps the greatest of all. It was recently announced (10/94) that the suicide rate among young men ages 15 to 19 more than doubled between 1985 and 1991. Teen suicide is the response of a growing number who evidently cannot imagine maturity in such a place as this.

The overwhelmingly pervasive culture is a fast-food one, bereft of substance or promise. As Dick Hebdige aptly judged, "the postmodern is the modern without the hopes and dreams that made modernity bearable."

Postmodernism advertises itself as pluralistic, tolerant, and non-dogmatic. In practice it is a superficial, fast-forward, deliberately confused, fragmented, media-obsessed, illiterate, fatalistic, uncritical exorcism, indifferent to questions of origins, agency, history or causation. It questions nothing of importance and is the perfect expression of a setup that is stupid and dying and wants to take us with it.

Our postmodern epoch finds its bottom-line expression in consumerism and technology, which combine in the stupefying force of mass media. Attention-getting, easily-digested images and phrases distract one from the fact that this horror-show of domination is precisely held together by such entertaining, easily digestible images and phrases. Even the grossest failures of society can be used to try to narcotize its subjects, as with the case of violence, a source of endless diversion. We are titillated by the representation of what at the same time is threatening, suggesting that boredom is an even worse torment than fear.

Nature, what is left of it, that is, serves as a bitter reminder of how deformed, non-sensual, and fraudulent is contemporary existence. The death of the natural world and the technological penetration of every sphere of life, what is left of it, proceed with an accelerating impetus. *Wired, Mondo 2000*, supplies cyber-everything, virtual reality, Artificial Intelligence, on and on, up to and including Artificial Life, the ultimate postmodern science.

Meanwhile, however, our "post-industrial" computer age has resulted in the fact that we are more than ever "appendages to the machine," as the 19th century phrase had it. Bureau of Justice statistics (7/94), by the way, report that the increasingly computer-surveilled workplace is now the setting for nearly one million violent crimes per year, and that the number of murdered bodies has doubled in the past decade.

This hideous arrangement expects, in its arrogance, that its victims will somehow remain content to vote, recycle, and pretend it will all be fine. To employ a line from Debord, "The spectator is simply supposed to know nothing and deserve nothing."

(Civilization, technology, and a divided social order are the components of an indissoluble whole, a death-trip that is fundamentally hostile to qualitative difference. Our answer must be qualitative, not the quantitative, more-or-less same palliatives that actually reinforce what we must end.

in Anti-Authoritarians Anonymous Flier, Eugene, 1995



An introduction to Primitive Anarchy

Not so very long ago the main anarchist outlook had a lot in common with marxism. Anarchists in general have always tried to keep the individual in mind—unlike marxists—and thus have usually espoused some form of self-management. Society should not be run in any hierarchical manner, or by a system of remote representation.

But anarchists and marxists were essentially in accord as to what a future society would look like. Modern industrialism was rarely at issue (William Morris was an exception; e.g. his lovely *News from Nowhere*), based on a shared acceptance of technological progress. Today's syndicalists (e.g. the I.W.W.) continue this faith and tradition, as do the anarcho-leftists of *Class War* and those of the recently defunct *Love & Rage*.

In the '90's, however, a new face of anarchy emerged in earnest. This new anarchy questions and indicts more than just capitalism. Without rejecting Marx's insights about the basic reality of class division and the totalizing axis of commodity and wage labor, the new anarchy movement also holds that technology, and civilization itself, are central to the problem of domination. Leftists have been unwilling to consider this perspective, and their analysis remains as limited as their tactics remain most often tame and ineffective.

It is occurring to a growing number of people that technology is by no means a neutral phenomenon, with its meaning and value solely determined by how it is put to use. Rather, technology is (and always has been) the incarnation of the dominant

social system, the embodiment of its deepest values. Such as efficiently outweighing wholeness, distancing promoted at the expense of the sensual. Technology is the very ground and texture of the ensemble of dominating institutions.

A woman whose letter to the editor expressed the hope for Y2K's potential collapse of technology put this in very personal terms. She wrote of technology's destructive effects on family life and one-on-one communication.

It is also becoming clearer that the very logic of civilization, based as it is upon division of labor and domestication, is bringing the most fateful results. Freud predicted almost 75 years ago that the fullness of civilization would bring universal neurosis. The increasing empty, even pathological character of society suggests that he may have even underestimated the civilizational toll. When two-year-olds have to be drugged into societal compliance, six-year-olds gun down schoolmates, and 40 to 50 million require psychoactive drugs to ward off serious depression, where are we heading? How deep-seated is this death of inner nature, that is proceeding as surely as that of outer nature?

The left, including leftist anarchists, fails to challenge the death march we're on at anything approaching an effective level. Having no fundamental quarrel with production and work, for instance, the old movement accepts a massified, massively alienated world that is conditioned and deformed at base. Their litany of carping at corporate excesses hardly scratches the surface of what has gone wrong.

Primitivist anarchy combines fundamental analy-

sis with militancy to match its theoretical challenge. We know how rotten, strangling and destructive the entire setup is, including technology and civilization. We take seriously what is now taught in basic anthropology courses: before civilization, humanity enjoyed a great deal of robust health, gender equality, leisure time, communion with the natural world, an absence of organized violence, and ethos of sharing. The implications of this fairly new paradigm can hardly be overstated, both as an explanation for the hastening deterioration of all life and as an inspiration to action. The "social ecology" perspective, on the other hand does not question the thrust or logic of technology and civilization. It assumes the continuance of "mass production" based life, its self-management orientation calling very few basics into question.

Domestication and division of labor undergrid and drive forward the catastrophe of the modern techno-"life." They must be eradicated if life, health, and freedom are again to flourish. It seems to us that the long night of captivity and denial is beginning to break up, as its vast contradictions express themselves fully. Ultimately, no one will be exempt from the overall fact of human immiseration and planetary despoliation. We think it is time for transparency, critique, and the envisioning of qualitative change of the most basic kind. The analysis and action of the left are powerless against the sources of this crisis. Up with a global festival of real revolt! Let's dismantle the whole awful weight of separation and degradation. As the 1968 Paris street slogan had it, "Under the pavement lies the beach!"

- GREEN ANARCHY

The story of the Haymarket Affair



In 1886, two anarchists, Lucy and Albert Parsons, walked arm in arm with their children down Chicago's Michigan Avenue. They walked at the head of 80,000 workers in the world's first ever May Day parade.

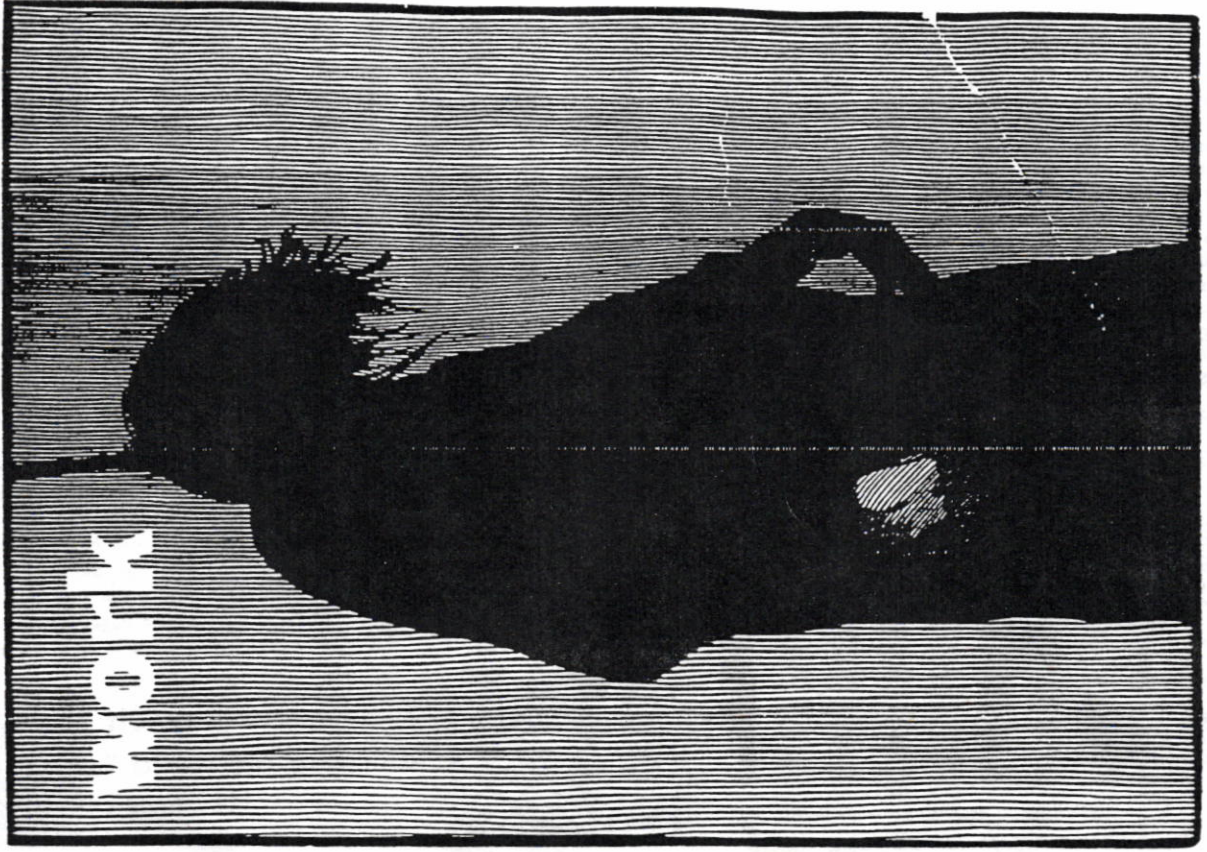
At that moment, 340,000 workers in 12,000 factories across the country downed tools to demand the 8-hour day in order to spread work among the thousands made unemployed by new 'labour saving' machinery. The next day, Chicago police attacked peaceful strikers with guns and clubs, killing and wounding several. On May 3rd, Chicago anarchists led 6,000 striking lumberworkers to the aid of strikers at the McCormick Harvester factory. Again the police attacked with no provocation and again several strikers were killed or wounded. Outraged, the anarchists called a protest meeting for the next day at the Haymarket, urging workers to come armed.

The meeting was peaceful and a shower of rain soon sent away most of the large crowd. When only 200 remained the police suddenly attacked. In the confusion, a bomb sailed through the air and exploded among the police, killing one and wounding seventy. In reply the police opened fire on the crowd. Four workers fell dead and many more were wounded.



It has never been discovered who threw the Haymarket bomb, but it was certainly none of the eight anarchists who were brought to trial for it. Six of them were not even there and the other two were clearly innocent, yet a trial of perjured testimony, a packed jury, biased judge and an hysterical press ensured a verdict of guilty. In spite of a world-wide protest and a second trial, the four 'Haymarket Martyrs', including Albert Parsons, were hanged.





Anarchy:

Once you've tried
nothing else can

WATTS

In August, Los Angeles' black ghetto, Watts, erupted in three days of open rebellion. Attempts at peace talks failed utterly: there were no leaders of the spontaneous revolt to talk to. Beginning with liquor stores and gun shops the populace started a carnival of systematic pillage, looting and arson. Order could only be restored by the use of an entire infantry division supported by tanks. 32 people were killed, 800 wounded and 3000 were arrested. Fires alone cost the city 30 million dollars.

For Situationists, Watts was a 'rebellion of worker consumers against commodities. Deprived of future, they reject commodity exchange through theft and gift.' In New York, the radical group Black Mask linked that rebellion with their own struggle against the art establishment:

'A new spirit is rising. Like the streets of Watts we burn the revolution. We assault your Gods... We sing of your death. DESTROY THE MUSEUMS... Our struggle cannot be

hung on the walls. Let the past fall under the blows of revolt.

The guerrilla, the blacks, the people of the future, we are all at your heels. Goddamn your culture, your science, your art. What purpose do they serve?

Your mass-murder cannot be concealed. The industrialist, the banker, the bourgeoisie, with their unlimited pretence and vulgarity, continue to stockpile art while they



slaughter humanity. Your life has failed: The world is rising against your oppression. There are people at the gates seeking a new world. The machine, the conquering of space and time, there are the seeds of the future which, fed from your barbarism, will carry us forward. We are ready...

...
'LET THE STRUGGLE BEGIN.'

35th anniversary of the Watts Insurrection of August 1965

LAKERS WIN! PIGS LOSE!

On Monday, June 19 the Los Angeles Lakers defeated the Indiana Pacers in game 6 of the NBA Finals, 116-111 to win their first basketball championship in a dozen years. Several thousand fans gathered to watch the game on a large screen outside the stadium. After the game, rioting broke out after fans threw debris at passing limousines and attacked and looted a TV news van. People then began to start bonfires in the streets using Pacer's t-shirts and other debris as incendiaries. Looting spread to a computer store and a total of 74 vehicles were burned at seven different car dealerships. Several people were injured and 11 were arrested.

Fortunately, several cops were injured as well and two squad cars were burned. After living vicariously through the celebrities on the big screen, it was time for everyone to return back to their own lives. And given how dull the lives of most people are, what better way to return in an ecstatic rage, destroying the streets of Los Angeles and fighting the pigs who restrain us from living our lives freely.



"I must rise in revolt
to rise in the world."

-Max Stirner,



NOTE: Urban insurrection is vital; but raping, fighting and killing each other, and destroying our own neighborhoods in the process is not only fucked-up, but intolerable. Let's focus our destructive energies on the institutional powers which oppress all of us!

-REVOLT NOW!



SOME CALL IT DEVASTATION.
WE CALL IT MANAGEMENT.

AT THE FOREST SERVICE, WE CREATE THE EUPHEMISMS
THAT OBSCURE THE DIFFERENCE.

SO YOU'LL ACCEPT IT.

BECAUSE WE KNOW THAT EVEN THE BEST
PLANS WILL FAIL,

IF PEOPLE RESIST TOO MUCH.

America is voting for the UNABOMBER

WHY ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN?

We are told that without governments, cops, laws, corporations, parental discipline and all the other instruments of coercion that are used to control and exploit us that society would be in chaos, that we would be terrorized by crime and that we would constantly be in fear for our lives. We are told that without strong "leaders" telling us what to do, bosses supervising our work and teachers telling us how to think that we could never solve our problems or manage our own lives. We are told that without a lot of rules, regimentation of society and churches to tell us right from wrong that we cannot be moral and know to live together with peace, freedom and social justice for all. But these things are all LIES told to us by the most privileged members of society who expect to get rich off our labor, get powerful from our votes and send us to die in their wars the next time they fight a war with each other to try to get even more wealth, power and social privilege than anyone could ever use in a lifetime. They tell us to do what we are told because they need us to OBEY in order to ACCEPT living to serve their interests. BELIEVE that we are still free and HOPE that if we work hard and follow all their rules that WE will be rewarded with wealth, comfort and social privilege one day. In a society where the richest 10% of the population owns about 90% of all business and 68% of ALL wealth, this is a fantasy.

Authority is so entrenched in our society that many people do not realize the extent to which it influences their lives. We begin being brainwashed to OBEY as soon as we are born. As a child our parents often ignore our interests and attitudes and try to make us be just like them or accomplish something they wish they had done when they were young. They blame us for our problems and try to take credit for our accomplishments. Many of the stereotypes and prejudices people have are drilled into them by their parents. We are punished until we do what we are told. We are harassed and belittled if we show independence or creativity. When we go to school, parental authority is supplemented by the regimentation of teachers and the indoctrination of public or church education. We are taught to try to follow "leaders", obey the government and to accept the values "leaders" think are best for us. When we get out of school we are told to obey our boss or lose our job and go hungry. We are told that voting for one *masters* makes us "free". We are told to die for "our" country. Until life gets really hard, most people take this nonsense for granted and consider it "normal" and even a source of personal security.

The advocates of modern government and corporate authority want us to believe that we can't live without them, but capitalism was only invented in the 1700s and most modern nation-states didn't exist before the 1800s! For thousands of years people lived in relative peace organizing their communities democratically, cooperating economically and respecting the well-being of others and the environment. Great civilizations like the Iroquois Confederation of eastern North America, The Ibo and Yoruba of western Africa and the Celtic culture of Europe and southwest Asia (which stretched from Portugal to Ireland, Germany, the Balkans and Turkey when Romans were still living in mud huts) were organized without kings, leaders, bureaucracies, social classes or patriarchal families. Then self-serving people began to say "worship our god or die", "obey our leaders or die", and "work to make us rich or die." Organized protection rackets by gangs of thieves turned into walled forts on trade routes, cities and eventually empires, monarchies and modern nation-states. All modern nation states have been built with authority based on coercion. Capitalism is an economy based on the coercion of labor. Religion is a culture based on the coercion of individual self-esteem.

Anarchists believe that the idea of Authority is at the heart of much of the social problems, injustices and hopelessness in modern society. In order to have hope that our live can be rich and meaningful, we need to have the freedom to make our own decisions and benefit from our own efforts. In order to solve our problems, we must take care of them ourselves. In order to have justice, we need to trust in our own inherent sense of right and wrong when we see others being hurt. Authority only guarantees freedom, justice and prosperity to those with the authority. If we want a society where everyone can have these things, then it must be democratic and equitable rather than authoritarian. But if we want a better life, we cannot wait for someone to give it to us or for another "leader" to tell us what to do, we need to take the initiative ourselves. Anarchists are spontaneous. Instead of "tell us what to do" we say "do it yourself!" Anarchists believe in Direct Action. Instead of demanding that the people running the system change, WE CHANGE THE SYSTEM OURSELVES!

Authority can only exist if the rest of us allow someone else to tell us what to do, what to think and how to live. Although those with authority use coercion to maintain power over our lives, we have something more powerful than their coercion: That is our refusal to OBEY them, to ACCEPT their system or to BELIEVE what they tell us. But it only works IF WE WORK TOGETHER. It only works if we reject the materialism, exploitation, and bigotry of those who now have authority. It only works if we take personal responsibility for our own actions and practice Mutual Aid (we help each other when we need help, we object to injustice when we see others wronged and we work together when a job is too big for any of us alone).

The alternative to authority is cooperation. Anarchists believe that we can guarantee freedom, justice and opportunity for each of us by working together to ensure it for everyone. We believe that we can create a culture of freedom and social equality to replace the current culture of violence, obedience, and exploitation. Successful anarchist societies have existed in modern times in Spain during the Spanish Civil War and in the Ukraine during the Russian Revolution.

ANARCHISM AND IMMIGRATION

YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE WHERE YOU CHOSE.

YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO WORK WHERE YOU CHOSE.

YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL WHERE YOU CHOSE.

Anarchists Believe In Free Association

This means that everyone has the right to live where they chose, work where they chose, and have social relationships with whom they chose.

Anarchists Are Anti-Racist

We do not believe in differentiating between people because of their ethnic ancestry. We believe that all privileges, discrimination, or segregation based on ethnicity, national origin, or cultural group must be eradicated.

Anarchists Are Anti-Nationalist

This means that we do not recognize the right of any government to legitimate citizenship. We do not recognize the territorial sovereignty of any nation or the legitimacy of any national borders.

Anarchists Are Anti-Authoritarian

We believe that no one should dominate another, no national government should seek to dominate another, and no ethnic group, caste, social class should dominate another. We believe that society should be organized democratically and that the rich man's government must be abolished. We believe that social peace should be maintained by the community and not racist cops.

Anarchists Are Anti-Capitalist

We believe that poverty and unemployment are intentionally created by capitalists as threats to use against and control working people. They are not caused by immigration which is simply the migration of people from areas of the World where land and labor are exploited by the capitalists to areas of the World where capitalists own powerful governments whose laws and military forces protect them and their wealth.

ANARCHISM IS THE PHILOSOPHY OF FREEDOM, SOCIAL EQUALITY, AND RESPECT FOR HUMAN LIFE. JOIN US. UNITE AND FIGHT FOR A BETTER WORLD.

YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO ASSOCIATE WITH WHOM YOU CHOSE.

YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO SPEAK ANY LANGUAGE YOU CHOSE.

YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY.

and do their bidding. We believe that everyone who wants to work should have a well-paid job and that jobs like raising children, not compensated by capitalists, should be financially supported. Under capitalism 4 out of every 5 dollars in wealth produced by a worker is stolen by capitalists, bosses, or government before they are paid for their work. We believe that it is possible for everyone who wants to work to have a job where they can earn more but, work only half as much as under capitalism. We believe that people should not be restricted in moving across national borders to work to feed their families because there is plenty of work for everyone.

Anarchists Believe In International Labor Solidarity

We believe in Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, and the use of Direct Action including the Stay-In General Strike where workers occupy their work places to deprive the capitalists and their police state governments the resources to attack us. We believe that the people who do the work should own the work place and share the benefit of what they produce and that wage slavery, where capitalists steal the value of what we produce and call it "profit," must be abolished. We believe that capitalists and bosses who produce nothing and exploit our labor should be done away with and replaced with cooperative work places which are run democratically. We believe that working people of all nations should cooperate to insure that everyone has an equal standard of living and that transnational capitalist corporations can no longer force us to accept wage slavery, dangerous and inhumane working conditions, and the poisoning of our communities by pollution to avoid the threat of poverty, unemployment, or death by starvation or disease. We believe that working people can take control of their lives without any need for leaders or government to tell them what to do because they know what needs to be done and are best able to make it happen.



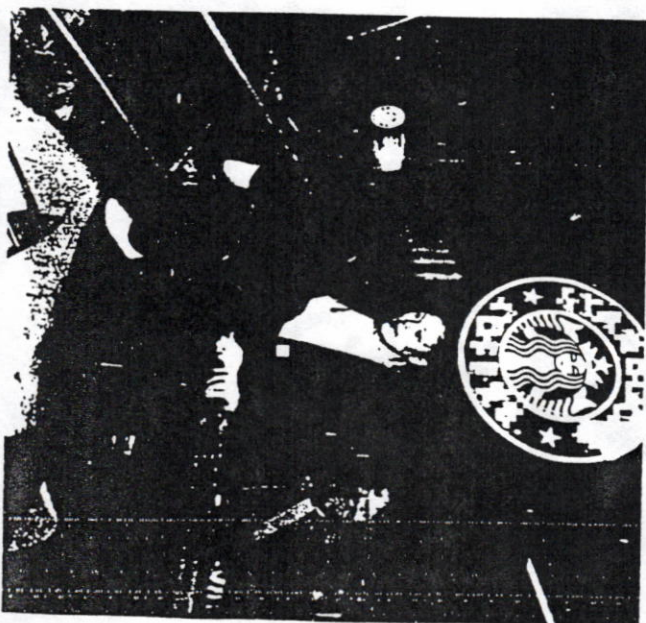
OUT OF THE WAITING GAME AND INTO THE FIRE

November/December 1999 and April 2000

The meeting of the World Trade Organization in Seattle was shut down by the intervention of over 20,000 civilians, and shortly thereafter the meeting of the I.M.F./World Bank in Washington, D.C. was similarly sabotaged. Thanks to the courage and cooperation of a variety of individuals and groups acting (consciously or not) according to the guidelines set forth in the Crimethink pamphlet *How to Throw a Proper Street Party*, people on the West and then East coasts of the U.S.A. discovered the joys of acting directly to achieve their goals instead of politely waiting for politicians and businessmen to consider their requests. In the process they happened upon a perfect integration of the methods and desires of all who were present at the demonstrations, from well-be-

haved sign-holders to black-masked corporate-window-display-smashing anarchists. Some of the "peaceful" protesters misunderstood how much more seriously their demands were taken thanks to the threat implied by the direct actions of the more radical participants, but the lesson was not wasted on posterity.

★ YOU FIND THE NEAREST WEAPON, GO OUT TO THE STREETS, AND START YOUR OWN...



Making Life Better.

FREE AND CRITTER INDICTED ON 10 COUNTS EACH!

On June 23, Jeffrey "Free" Luers and Craig "Critter" Marshall were indicted on nine felony counts and one misdemeanor, by a Lane County, Oregon grand jury in Eugene. The charges were placed on the "defendants" acting together with others as yet unnamed, ensuring a continuous "investigation" into the community they want to intimidate into hiding. There are serious suspicions about the motives of the state (duh), the lack of evidence, and the media smear job they've already done on this case, not to mention to the anarchist movement leading up to this case. Please don't let us become isolated, because many of us feel we are being targeted as an entire community. THIS FITS ALL THE ELEMENTS OF A CLASSIC COUNTERPROTEST-STYLE FRAME-UP!!!! Why would someone try to blow up their own neighborhood???

These are the charges:

6/23/00

THE FOLLOWING CHARGES RELATE TO A FIRE THAT OCCURRED JUNE 16th, AT THE JOE ROMANIA CAR DEALERSHIP IN EUGENE:

THESE FIRST TWO CHARGES CARRY A PENALTY UNDER OREGON'S MEASURE 11 MANDATORY MINIMUM SENTENCING GUIDELINES, OF 30 MONTHS EACH:

Court 1: CLASS A FELONY - Arson in the 1st Degree, for damage to Joe Romania's Truck Dealership by starting a fire that led to an explosion, on June 16th.

Court 2: CLASS A FELONY - Arson in the 1st Degree, for reckless endangerment of damage to ODOT vehicles at 2141 S. 15th, not exceeding \$50,000, on June 16th. (The ODOT lot is across the street from the car dealership)

Court 3: CLASS C FELONY - Criminal Mischief in the 1st Degree, for damage to a motor vehicle not exceeding \$750.00

Court 4: CLASS C FELONY - Unlawful Manufacture of a Destructive Device for knowingly assembling a bomb with an incendiary device (6/16)

Court 5: CLASS C FELONY - Unlawful Possession of a destructive device. (6/16)

THE FOLLOWING CHARGES RELATE TO AN ATTEMPTED ARSON ON MAY 27th, AT TYREE OIL COMPANY AT 101 BLAIR BLVD. IN EUGENE:

Court 6: CLASS B FELONY - Attempting to start a fire at Tyree Oil Company, putting life in danger. (5/27)

Court 7: CLASS B FELONY - Same as Court 6, but names truck. (5/27)

Court 8: CLASS A MISDEMEANOR - Criminal Mischief (5/27)

Court 9: CLASS C FELONY - Manufacture of Bomb (5/27)

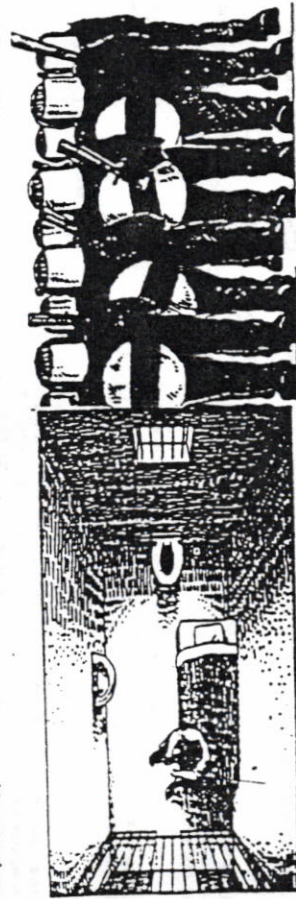
Court 10: CLASS C FELONY - Possession of Destructive Device (5/27)

The maximum penalty if Craig and Jeffrey are found guilty of all charges is 86 years. They have pled not guilty to all the charges, and will have a pre-trial hearing on July 28 at 3:30 pm.

Jeffrey Luers (Free) #1306729
101 W. 6th Street
Eugene, Oregon 97401

Craig Marshall (Critter) #1340996
101 W. 5th Street
Eugene, Oregon 97401

Written correspondence, including photocopied materials with no staples, are admitted in as mail. Books must be sent in new and must be sent FROM THE PUBLISHER. THEY REALLY WANT BOOKS, especially Jeffrey (Free), so if you are a publisher, please mail them in. The jail has ultimate discretion over what books are allowed in.



Let Patriarchy Burn! a feminist rant

"How many articles does it take until men start working on their shit? Aren't you tired of hearing and reading about it? Maybe Smith and Wesson do a better job? At least stop considering your self revolutionaries. YOU ARE NOT MY COMRADE." - Molly Tov in *Profane Existence*.

So I'm talking to an activist man about misogyny within a particular group and he's telling me I need to get in there and change it from the inside, not attack it from the outside. That sounds like reformism to me. He says no, because in our united fight against capitalism we're on the same side. But we're not.

Patriarchy is often bandied about as a term to explain men's prejudices or/and behaviour toward women. But just as the behaviour and attitudes of a boss towards a worker is not the intrinsic problem of capitalism but rather an expression of it, so gender relations are some of the symptoms of the cultural, economic, social and ideological system of oppression, exploitation and power—Patriarchy.

An article about patriarchy (which was actually about sexism) on road protest camps appeared in *Do or Die* No. 7, and outlined some of the ways in which patriarchy shows itself. The list of "complaints" was referred to as disgruntlement and claimed: "For all men's faults women are still very much respected on site and patriarchy does have its advantages." Patriarchy does have its advantages, but only for those who wish to maintain oppression. Any movement that does not challenge this oppression is not a fight for freedom. This article will examine how the ideology and practices of the radical ecology movement in the UK stunt the development of true resistance.

"When I first came to our anarchist social centre and thought it would be a good idea to get involved, it was this boy's club—there, was this one woman who did shifts, but she just came in, cleaned up and served tea, it was the three blokes who'd sit around together, joke, and in this way sort out what's happening with it...it was a real effort on my side to feel responsible and become a part of the decision-making processes."

Not acknowledging women as autonomous political individuals (depoliticisation) seems a common experience in political movements. When talking of the struggle I have found most inspirational, I was dismissed as only being interested because my former male partner was also, as if my political thought process was centred in my cunt. The accusation of being smitten with a single person instead of dedicated to revolution was something many women I spoke to also had encountered.

Anarcho-misogynists Anonymous... A 12 step plan

These are some ways of challenging our social conditioning by a patriarchal culture. Macho behaviour is not specific to men, although often more common as males have been traditionally encouraged into stereotypical men (meaning aggressive, dominating, active, individualistic etc.) and women encouraged into equally limited and repressive caricatures instead of us all achieving our full potential as human beings.

1. **Women's Space:** Women, spend time in it, especially if you don't understand why it exists. The experiences of women's space are different to mixed space. And let's stop 'discussing' it in mixed groups—women's space is neither requested or demanded, it is taken and the opinions of men are irrelevant.

2. **Skill Sharing:** It is largely a myth. Usually it is about one individual teaching one or many, and obviously gives rise to many problems of hierarchy and patronising behaviour. Let's work on real trading...you show me yours and I'll show you mine.

3. **New Women Being Fuck Fodder:** This is particularly present, or maybe just most visible, on mixed protest camps, although also a problem in women's camps when they are treated like lifestyle cruising grounds, at squat cafes/social centres and in urban groups. Other women can 'buddy up' with women who are new and let them know they are valued as activists. Males can be friendly but not invasive. Everyone can pull up their friends or intervene if somebody is being out of order. Be honest, tell newcomers about problems like this so they don't think they're imagining it, or that this is acceptable behaviour.

4. **Sexual Coercion:** While this is such a common complaint, it is often kept hush hush, people not wanting to rock the boat. As people who value direct action we need to take it—girl guerrilla groups who have issued confrontational warnings or revenge attacks on known bastards have claimed mixed areas as places not to mess with women in. The actions we take against corporate



scum can and should also be taken against raping acum.

5. **Question Everything:** Why do you really want to do that banner drop? Is it the best, most effective attack on this particular target or is it the one that gets you the most credit? If you can't be bothered to go to the posting and engage in sabotage, but you will get nicked for something high profile and dangerous... ask yourself why. Think carefully before every action. Just what and who are you doing this for?

6. **Shut Up:** Meetings are generally dominated by a few mouthy individuals with little particularly constructive, creative or original to say. Recognize that some people are more confident than others talking in meetings. Have go-rounds at the beginning and at the end of meetings and somewhere halfway too. When someone new or someone who doesn't usually speak gets the guts to say something, credit them.

Properly facilitated meetings are a great asset to those who don't jump in. And talk to new people or quiet people afterward: tell them you liked what they said.

7. **Wash Up:** It's such a cliché it's almost a joke. But it takes more than soapuds to sort out the division of labour. On actions do the things you don't usually offer to do the support work, stay in the office, do leaflet distribution, be—godforbid!—anonymous.

If it's an action that's public then it doesn't need the trust of an affinity group off to burn something down. Team up with less experienced people—write that leaflet with someone who's never written one before instead of your usual comrades.

8. **Sisterhood:** To misquote one of my male friends—there's no point spelling womyn all funny if you don't do the acts too. Solidarity in sisterhood can be interpreted in 100's of ways, be doing at least some of them.

Do or Die—Voices from the ecological resistance No. 8



9. **We Don't Need Another Hero:** Putting ourselves and others in hero-positions fictionalises our activities rather than reaching out to others. Braggery is neither skill sharing nor empowering others to act. Let's get humble because nothing we do is glorious, especially not when it's sensational. The sexy factor of an action isn't the be all and end all and media coverage is generally counter-productive.

Get real—seeing a young deadlocked white boy hanging off a thin rope on the TV does not empower the viewer into thinking they can do the same.

10. **Learn:** Inform yourself of women's resistance, historical and geographically. If you know all about the Spanish revolution but not about 12th century women's rebellion in China widen your reading list.

11. **Abandon Your Privilege:** This is the hard one! First we need to acknowledge and recognize that as first world activists we occupy a global position of privilege. Most of us also have extra power due to our youth, our skin colour, our family class background. When we ignore our own or other's claims they don't just disappear, and when we ignore these power relations most of us will get bruised on the way down.

Admit we don't get the hardest deal. Listen to others: we might not know the best way. Get criticised, feel uncomfortable, and deal with it.

12. **Unlily Against Patriarchy:** While the fight against patriarchy is women's struggle and it is imperative that 'feminist' men do not hijack this struggle, everyone should participate in overthrowing systems of oppression. Not only because men are capable of its perpetration but because we can be accomplices as well, by engaging in harmful ridicule and by our silence. But the struggle for respect for the specificity of gender can also include us, by acknowledging what we are, what we are not, and above all, what we are capable of becoming. - Commandante Insurgente Marcos.

FREE FREE!! FREE CRITTER!!

OTHER THINGS YOU CAN DO:
Organize a benefit and/or donate money for their legal defense (they may go with private lawyers if they can find one), their jail fund for commissary (the only place they can get veggie food), stamps and collect calls to jail support, no they can receive moral support from friends. Please send money to:

Free and Critter
434 Willamette St. #205
Eugene, Oregon 97401

Call the jail to demand they be given vegetarian meals (541) 682-3860

BACKGROUND ON THE CASE:

On June 16th at 1:30 AM, Free and Critter were stopped by Springfield Police near an Albertsons, for a "routine traffic violation". The car they were driving to the forest in had a headlight out. When their licenses were called in, the Eugene Police Department, who arrested Free a night earlier for videotaping EPD officers while they harassed punks, ordered them to be held until they could get there. After being detained for two hours, the EPD showed up and the two were detained until 8 AM, when they were transported to the Lane County Jail, and booked in on charges of Criminal Mischief and Arson. The EPD told media the next day that they were being held on suspicion of an arson that had occurred at the time of their arrest at a car dealership in Eugene, which resulted in \$40,000 of damages. They reported that the car the two were driving was followed from the scene of the crime to Springfield. Springfield Police say the car was pulled over for "a routine traffic violation." (The car was missing a headlight). Discrepancy #1.

The next day, the EPD obtained a warrant from a judge to search Free's residence for specific common household items, including empty plastic containers, sponges, license sticks, matches, rubber bands, penit, gasoline, and correspondence to both of them. Another resident was detained for 2 hours and questioned, and the BAIF was identified at the scene.

On June 18, unidentified agents visited a local activist household looking for three "dangerous terrorists". Surveillance of that house and others, by both the EPD and now FBI, has become more common. Known anarchists have been followed and the Growers' Market Building has been almost constantly surveilled by EPD officers.

A week later, Free and Critter's original charges were trumped up to 9 felonies and one misdemeanor. A county Grand Jury indicted them on Friday, June 23. The charges that were not related to the car dealership fire were pertaining to a suspicious fire that never ignited at an oil company in the Whiteaker neighborhood - a scenario that would have posed great danger to the neighborhood and all of Free and Critter's closest friends. Both activists have been visible and active in forest protection campaigns, local co-op activities, and projects like Food Not Bombs, cooperative child care, and self-defense for women. They were both known to the EPD as activists.

As far as we know they have no bail, and could face up to 88 years in prison.

FOR INFORMATION ON FREE AND CRITTER, CONTACT THE FREE/CRITTER DEFENSE COMMITTEE:
541-343-8548
freecritter.org

DON'T LET THEM TAKE ANOTHER ONE DOWN!
free free * free critter * free rob thaxton!

LOOK! ITS ANOTHER ZINE
FROM ANARCHIST PRISONER
ROB LOS RICOS

aka

Rob Thaxton

Eugene Anarchist Action Collective
4 Undisciplined Books
c/o AAA

P.O. Box 11331
Eugene, OR 97440



Robert Thaxton

Now, more than ever before, we must increasingly make a practice out of Revolutionary Solidarity. Not just out of comradeship with those who have been imprisoned, but for ourselves in bringing this society to it's demise and creating the world we've been dreaming of.

All mail sent to Rob must have a return address on the envelope. All monetary donations to Rob should be sent to the Robert Thaxton Support Group c/o AAA PO Box 11331 Eugene, OR 97440. All checks are to be made out to John Zerka and can be received through the above (AAA) address.

Donations to Rob personally must be sent in the form of money orders ONLY and mailed to: Department of Corrections Central Trust 2576 Center St. NE Salem, OR 97310 and must be made out to Department of Corrections Central Trust for Rob. Lee Thaxton #121112716.

FUCK YOU BEARDEN

Letters can be sent to Robert Thaxton #121112716 O.S.P. 26X5 State St. Salem, O. 97310. Letters should be sent separately from literature and all literature must come "free or bookstore." These, in this instance, should have the same effectivity to.

if we are to consider ourselves as revolutionaries, we must acknowledge that we have an obligation to succeed in pursuing revolution. Here, we must acknowledge not only the power of our enemies, but our own power as well. Realizing the nature of our power, we must not deny ourselves the exercise of the options available to us; we must utilize surprise, cunning and flexibility; we must use the strength of our enemy to undo him, keeping him confused and off-balance. We must organize with perfect clarity to be utterly unpredictable. When our enemies expect us to respond to provocation with violence, we must react calmly and peacefully; just as they anticipate our passivity, we must throw a grenade. Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael)

Code of Nonviolence

"We are fighting to dismantle the system of violence that is being inflicted upon the earth and its inhabitants by political and corporate powers that be; the violence which leads to the destruction of earth's biodiversity and integrity, the torture and extinction of its species, and the oppression and genocide of its peoples, in the interests of capital profit. With compassion and respect for all life we will fight, by any means necessary, to end this violence of injustice." Wild and Free



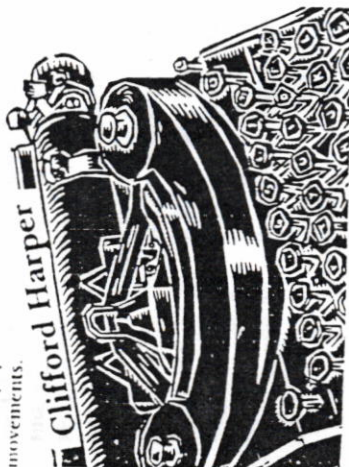
It is the obligation of every person who claims to oppose oppression to resist the oppressor by every means at his or her disposal. Not to engage in physical resistance, armed resistance to oppression, is to serve the interests of the oppressor; no more, no less. There are no exceptions to the rule, no easy out...

— Assata Shakur, 1984



Simple when you get down to it — human beings are at their very best when they are living free of authority, deciding things among themselves rather than being ordered about. That's what the word means — 'Without Government'. A lot of the time most of us know this anyway (though there are a few oddballs in the world who actually enjoy being pushed around), but we also know just how difficult it can usually be doing anything for yourself — if you try you're likely to break some law or contravene some regulation or other.

But throughout human history people have tried to do just that. To live freely. Sometimes on their own, sometimes in small groups, sometimes in great popular movements.



Clifford Harper

Pacifism is suicidal. In its core impulse to prostrate itself before the obvious reality of the violence inherent in state power, pacifism not only inverts Emiliano Zapata's famous dictum that "It is better to die on one's feet than to live on one's knees"; it actually posits the proposition that it is *best* to die on one's knees and seeks to achieve this result as a matter of principle. Pacifist *Eros* is thus transmuted into *Thanatos*."

While it seems certain that at least a portion of pacifism's propensity toward suicide is born of the earlier-mentioned delusion that it can impel nonviolence on the part of the state (and is therefore simply erroneous), there is a likelihood that one of two other factors is at work in many cases:

1. A sublimated death wish manifesting itself in a rather commonly remarked "gambler's neurosis" (i.e., "Can I risk everything and win?").

2. A desublimated death wish manifesting itself in a "political" equivalent of walking out in front of a bus ("Will it hit me or not?").

Ward Churchill

Pacifism as Pathology

'The hand free, free for all, without overseers and masters. Seek justice from tyrannical governments, not with a hat in your hand but with a rifle in your fist.'

Emiliano Zapata

Everything that glorifies "God" and the afterworld slanders humanity and the real world.



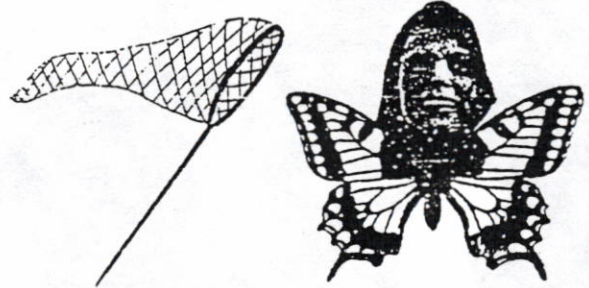
JULIA, Y50K?

Two years dedicating your entire life in protection of a vital, awe inspiring, and a much-threatened piece of our Mama is inspirational and needs to be commended and respected, but ultimately what we need to ask is "will buying the planet save her?" Of course not. By offering anything but resistance to their rape, murder, and enslavement of our world, we legitimize our Masters control over us. Maybe Luna will stand for the next 50 years. Maybe the 200 foot "buffer zone" won't get cut. Maybe Maxxam/Pacific Lumber or just a pissed logger won't decide to cut her anyway. Overall, I think Forest Defense and Earth Liberation has taken a step backwards. We need to dismantle the system, which commodifies our lives and the land which sustains us. We compromise daily in our lives, but when we willingly offer large sums of money to multi-national corporations and promote this as a method of positive change, we miss the real problem. We need to recognize that Capitalism and greed are the root of global destruction.

Celebrity status may bring attention to certain problems, but eco-systems are only saved through strong movements of dedicated people and Nature's healing processes. We must challenge our privilege and stand in solidarity with peoples of the world to bring down the Imperial Beast. From the Ogonis of the Niger Delta, to the Zapatistas of Chiapas, to the tree-people of Red Cloud Thunder, to the black-clad revolutionaries in Seattle, the resistance to oppression is growing. You have brought attention to the cutting of the last of our old-growth forests. Now we must deepen our analysis and avoid the path of compromise and reform. As you travel around the world to talk about your experiences and forest protection, it is essential to remember that it is the Institutions of Control and Profit which run the world, and it is them we must fight with every breath.

On the Move

START YOUR OWN BUG COLLECTION TODAY! CATCH A BUTTERFLY!



JULIA BUTTERFLY HAS TAUGHT US MANY THINGS OVER THE PAST 2 YEARS, AND SHE TAUGHT US EVEN MORE IN DECEMBER OF '99 WHEN SHE CAME DOWN FROM HER TREE AFTER SHE AND HER SUPPORTERS PAID PACIFIC LUMBER \$50,000, WHICH WAS DONATED TO HUMBOLDT UNIVERSITY FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH. SHE TAUGHT US THAT THE SYSTEM WORKS. THAT COMPROMISE IS THE TRUE PATH OF RESISTANCE. THAT PARTICIPATION IN THE SYSTEM IS NONVIOLENT. THAT PRIVATE PROPERTY IS SOMETHING SACRED, ESPECIALLY CORPORATE PROPERTY. THAT THE EARTH IS SOMETHING TO BE BOUGHT AND SOLD. THAT SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IS BENEFICIAL TO HUMANITY.

LET'S IMMORTALIZE JULIA BUTTERFLY'S RESISTANCE BY STARTING A BUG COLLECTION AND SHOW OUR RESPECT IN PUTTING LUNA TO GOOD USE BY MAKING FIREWOOD TO KEEP REVOLUTIONARIES WARM OVER THIS COLD WINTER!!!

Chicago Tribune, May 7, 1886

Excerpts from "Stamp Out the Anarchists"

Mobbing, murder, and dynamite assassinations were probably necessary to arouse the Americans and the Americanized foreigners of Chicago to the danger tolerating any longer the public teaching of imported Nihilism and Communism (Anarchism). For years this city has been made a hotbed for the propagation of anarchical doctrines. Under the leadership of Spies, Fielden, Parsons, and Schwab the bloody-minded Anarchists congregated in this city have been urging the destruction of American ideas of government and sending out their disciples to spread seditious doctrines and encourage social and political revolution. Not an effort has been made to drive out, chain, or suppress these political mad-dogs, but they have been allowed to pursue their frenzied course without the slightest interference from municipal authorities. In accordance with certain popular but delusive and misplaced notions about the sacredness of free speech and free print the Anarchists have been permitted to advocate murder, arson, and pillage as the means for the overthrow of American government and destruction of American society. The general idea seemed to be that the madness would run its course and that there might be a seed-sowing of anarchical doctrine without a harvest of riot and bloodshed. The events of the last week prove such expectations unfounded and demonstrate that the people cannot expect to escape the effects if they tolerate the cause. They must put their heel on the Anarchists and crush them out....

Let the Anarchists learn that, while the American people may be slow to wrath, they are fully able to protect themselves, their families, their institutions, and their property. While Spies, Parsons, Fielden, and Schwab are punished according to law, care should be taken that no more such social desperados are harbored in Chicago. Incendiary anarchical sheets should be suppressed by the police. Nihilistic meetings on the public parks ought to be broken up and the leaders sent home if need be with broken heads. No more red flags or black flags should be flaunted in the streets of Chicago. Let the Anarchists understand that they must seek some other place to preach and practice their hellish doctrines, and while they remain here they must show at least an outward respect for American laws and institutions. The sooner dynamite conspirators understand that matters have at last reached this complexion the better for all concerned.

NOTE: This editorial appeared in the immediate aftermath of the Haymarket bombing (1886), but would also fit in recent corporate-state propaganda, such as the *Register-Guard*. The times have not changed much in the past hundred years. Such propaganda is nothing new coming from 'a nation-state that is intent on domination and control throughout history, the police and media have collaborated to perpetuate a hateful and demonic image of "violent" anarchists. Anarchists consider such demonization to be aimed at legitimizing suppression of those who challenge the very nature of their authority by fostering a community based on human need and desire, rather than the soul-killing rules of capitalism.

Corporate media remains...
a tool of the ruling class!



WHAT IF YOU HUNG A BANNER AND NOBODY SHOWED UP??

RUCKUS (notes) - Noisy confusion uproar, disturbance, chaos, disorder, lawlessness

The "Bring on the Ruckus" Society is here to say, "When we say bring on the ruckus, we mean a fuckin' ruckus." We don't seek the clean, methodical image of the "empathetic revolution", recently represented through corporate media filters by such professional bureaucracies as The Ruckus Society™, Art and Revolution @, and the Direct Action Network @. We want to abolish the institutions that have imposed a suffocating order on our resistance. We hasten the liberation of desire, and the spontaneous and free-flowing nature of insurrection.

The Ruckus will not be choreographed. It is the hurricane swirling offshore, that no mere mortal can predict or navigate. It is the unpredictability of instinct - the reaction to the meticulous order that dulls our senses and produces repetition. We will not know the Ruckus until it touches down, shattering the tedious facades of society.

The Ruckus is highly illegal. Our safety must be cast aside, to make way for the marvelous in life - the natural chaos that we were meant to live. The demise of the present order can never come about while well-paid "activists" cater to its institutions of propaganda, taking false credit for the bringing on of the Ruckus. Similarly, the Ruckus can not be bought with a tax-deductible donation, and there will be no glossy mailing included when the Ruckus cometh. The Ruckus will not be funded by Ted Turner, or other members of the ruling class. Nonviolence guidelines must be trashed, along with major financial centers around the globe, so that the Ruckus can re-assess itself. Finally, the Ruckus has no poster boy/girl.

We cannot wait for the Ruckus to be unleashed. Only we can break the chains of "civility" that confine the wild nature of the Ruckus. The time has come to transform the Ruckus from mere metaphor, to active, participatory reality.

As King Mob said in 1968, "there are no limits to our lawlessness... the future belongs to the free spirit of the outlaw."

Fuck the civil, let's get disobedient!

Revoltingly Yours,
the "Bring on the Ruckus" Society



Basic Call to Consciousness Extracted from The Haudenosaunee Message to the Western World

The Haudenosaunee, or the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, has existed on this land [now Mid-Atlantic states of US] since the beginning of human memory. Our culture is among the most ancient continuously existing cultures in the world.

Our essential message to the world is a basic call to consciousness. The destruction of the Native cultures and people is the same process which has destroyed and is destroying life on this planet. The technologies and social systems which have destroyed the animal and the plant life are also destroying the Native people. And the process is Western civilization...

The processes of colonialism and imperialism which have affected the Haudenosaunee are but a microcosm of the processes affecting the world. The system of reservations employed against our people is a microcosm of the system of exploitation used against the whole world. Since the time of Marco Polo, the West has been refining a process that has mystified the peoples of the Earth.

The majority of the world does not find its roots in Western culture or traditions. The majority of the world finds its roots in the Natural World, and it is the Natural World, and the traditions of the Natural World, which must prevail if we are to develop truly free and egalitarian societies.

It is necessary, at this time, that we begin a process of critical analysis of the West's historical processes, to seek out the actual nature of the roots of the exploitative and oppressive conditions which are forced upon humanity. At the same time, as we gain understanding of those processes, we must reinterpret that history to the people of the world.

It is the people of the West, ultimately, who are the most oppressed and exploited. They are burdened by the weight of centuries of racism, sexism, and ignorance which has rendered their people insensitive to the true nature of their lives.

We must all consciously and continuously challenge every model, every program, and every process that the West tries to force upon us. Paulo Friere wrote in his book, the Pedagogy of the Oppressed, that it is the nature of the oppressed to imitate the oppressor, and by such actions try to gain relief from the oppressive condition. We must learn to resist that response to oppression.

The people who are living on this planet need to break with the narrow concept of human liberation, and begin to see liberation as something which needs to be extended to the whole of the Natural World. What is needed is the liberation of all the things that support life—the air, the waters, the trees.

We feel that the Native peoples of the Western hemisphere can continue to contribute to the survival potential of the human species. The majority of our peoples still live in accordance with the traditions which find their roots in the Earth. But the Native peoples have need of a forum in which our voice can be heard. And we need alliances with the other peoples of the world to assist in our struggle to regain and maintain our ancestral lands and to protect the Way of Life we follow.

The traditional Native peoples hold the key to the reversal of the processes in Western Civilization, which threaten unimaginable future suffering and destruction.



... and Western
Civilization!

Beware

Armed bands are roaming the highways and marching through your neighborhood. They may even try to enter your home! Watch for these gang identifiers:

Vehicles: Sports cars, four-door sedans, and vans, often painted black and white or blue and white, with sirens and flashing red and blue lights.

Clothing: Well kempt dress uniforms, usually blue or black (gang colors), and adorned with patches and badges. Head-wear varies. Other accessories include gun belts, handcuffs, hand-held radios, and large flashlights.

Armaments: Handguns, shotguns, assault rifles, tear-gas rifles, billy clubs, shields, bullet proof armor, helmets and face-shields.

Demeanor: Surly and hostile or aggressively friendly

These gangs are highly organized, well armed, and potentially violent. Warn your friends and neighbors

Do Not Provoke Them!

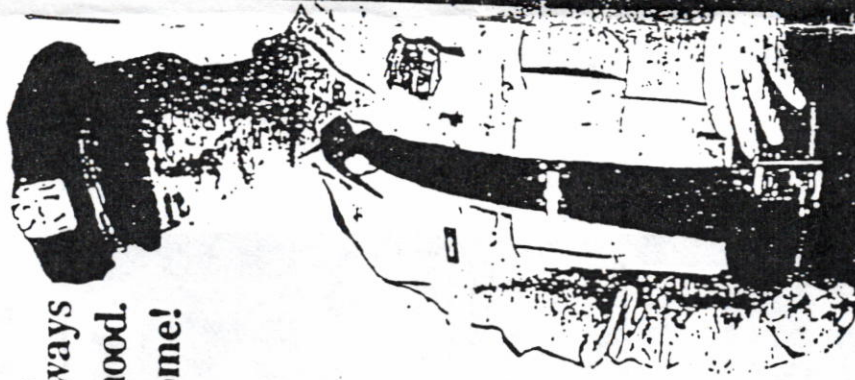
Do Not Let Them Corner You!

Protect Yourself

PROTECT



YOURSELF!



TYPICAL GANG MEMBER

The Prison Industrial Complex and the Global Economy

by Eve Goldberg and Linda Evans

Welcome to the New World Order.

The proliferation of prisons in the United States is one piece of a puzzle called the globalization of capital.

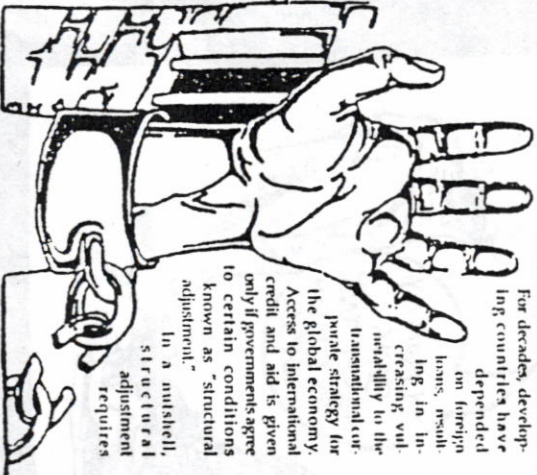
Since the end of the Cold War, capitalism has gone on an alternative socialist economy or the liberal of national liberation movements supported by the Soviet Union or China, transnational corporations see the world as their system. Agencies such as the World Trade Organization, World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, bolstered by agreements like NAFTA and GATT, are putting more and more power into the hands of transnational corporations by putting the squeeze on national governments. The primary mechanism of control is debt.

For decades, develop-

ing countries have depended on foreign loans, resulting in increasing vulnerability to the transnational corporate strategy for the global economy.

Access to international credit and aid is given only if governments agree to certain conditions known as "structural adjustment."

In a nutshell, structural adjustment requires



cuts in social services, privatization of state-run industry, repeal of agreements with labor about working conditions and minimum wages, conversion of multi-use farm lands into cash crop agriculture for export, and the dismantling of trade laws which protect local economies. Under structural adjustment, police and military expenditures are the only government spending that is encouraged. The sovereignty of nations is compromised when, as in the case of Vietnam, trade sanctions are threatened unless the government allows Canal agreements to litter the countryside with billboards, or promises to spend millions in the U.S.-orchestrated crackdown on drugs.

The basic transnational corporate philosophy is this: the world is a single market; natural resources are to be exploited; people are consumers; anything which hinders profit is to be routed out and destroyed. The results of this philosophy in action are that while economies are growing, so is poverty so is ecological destruction, so are sweatshops and child labor. Across the globe, wages are plummeting, indigenous people are being forced off their lands, rivers are becoming industrial dumping grounds, and forests are being obliterated. Massive regional starvation and "World Bank riots" are becoming more frequent throughout the Third World.

All over the world, more and more people are being forced into illegal activity for their own survival as traditional cultures and social structures are destroyed. Inevitably crime and imprisonment rates are on the rise. And the United States law enforcement establishment is in the forefront, domestically and internationally, in providing state-of-the-art repression.

Within the United States, structural adjustment (sometimes known as the Contract With America) takes the form of welfare and social service cuts, continued massive military spending, and skyrocketing prison spending. Walk through any poor urban neighborhood: school systems are crumbling, after school programs, libraries, parks and drug treatment centers are closed. But you will see more police stations and more cops. Often, the only "social service" available to poor people is jail.

The dismantling of social programs and the growing dominance of the right-wing agenda in U.S. politics has been made possible, at least in part, by the successful repression of the



FUCK PROTEST.

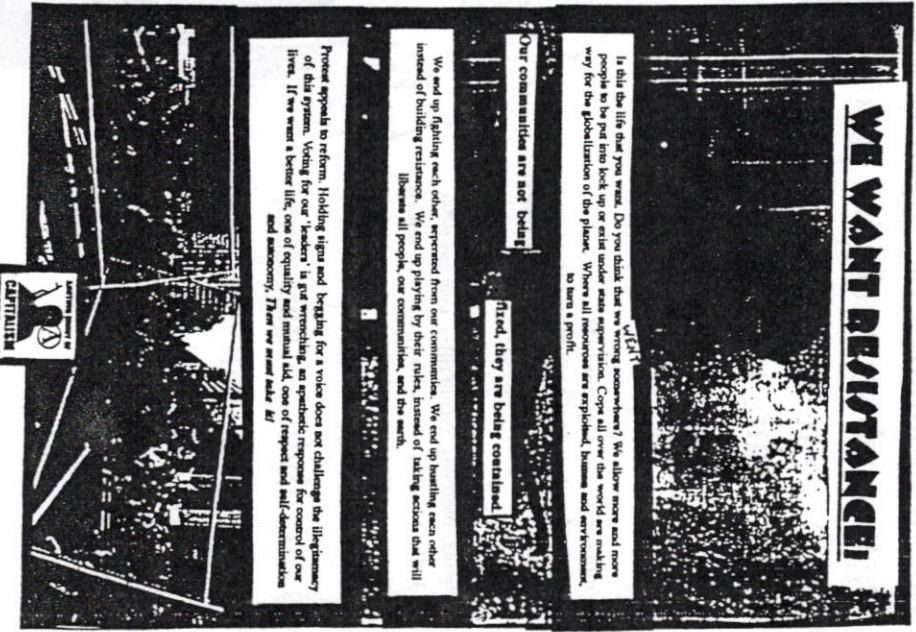
WE WANT RESISTANCE!

Is this the life that you want. Do you think that we're wrong somewhere? We allow more and more people to be put into lock up or sent under state supervision. Cops all over the world are making way for the globalization of the planet. Where all resources are exploited, human and environmental, to turn a profit.

Our communities are not being tried, they are being contained.

We end up fighting each other, separated from our communities. We end up beating each other instead of building resistance. We end up playing by their rules, instead of taking actions that will liberate all people, our communities, and the earth.

Protest appeals to reform. Holding signs and begging for a voice does not challenge the illegitimacy of this system. Voting for our "leaders" is just endorsing, an apathetic response for control of our lives. If we want a better life, one of equality and mutual aid, one of respect and self-determination and autonomy, then we must take it.



Reclaim our lives. Abolish this fucking system. PUT ACTION INTO YOUR FEEL. SEE IT IN THE STREETS. (Look up) Our sky is red. That should be enough to figure out that there is no future in this system.)

WHAT IS DIRECT ACTION?

Direct action, to use Rudolf Rocker's words, is "every method of immediate warfare by the workers [or other sections of society] against their economic and political oppressors. Among these nonviolent acts, the strike, in all its gradations from the simple wage struggle to the general strike; the boycott; sabotage in all its countless forms; [occupations and sit-down strikes]; anti-militarist propaganda; and in particularly critical cases.... armed resistance of the people for the protection of life and liberty." (Anarchist Symbolism, p. 66)

Not that anarchists think that direct action is only applicable within the workplace. Far from it. Direct action must occur everywhere! So, in non-workplace situations, direct action involves rent strikes, consumer boycotts, occupations to block, of course, etc., can include all in strikes by workers, even large, individual and collective non-payment of taxes, blocking roads and holding up construction work of an anti-social nature and so forth. Also direct action, in a workplace setting, includes strikes and protests on social issues, not directly related to working conditions and pay. Such activity aims to ensure the "protection of the community against the most pernicious outgrowths of the present system. The social strike seeks to force upon the employers a responsibility to the public. Primarily it has in view the protection of the customers, of whom the workers themselves (and their families) constitute the great majority" (Op., cit., p. 72)

Basically, direct action means that instead of getting someone else to act for you (e.g., a politician) you act for yourself. Its essential feature is an organised protest by ordinary people to make a change by their own efforts. Thus Volunteering for Cley's excellent statement on this topic:

"Every person who ever thought he had a right to travel, and went bodily and secured it, himself, or partly with others, than shared his convictions, was different from us. Some thirty years ago I recall that the Substantive Army went vigorously putting their attention in the maintenance of the freedom of its members to speak, assemble, and pass. They and over they were, credible, final, and unreviewed, but they kept right on arguing."



praying, and marching, till they finally compelled their persecutors to let them alone. The Industrial Workers for the World are now conducting the same fight, and have, in a number of cases, compelled the officials to let them alone by the same direct tactics.

*Every person who ever had a plan to do anything, and went and did it, or who had

*Every person who ever in his life had a difference with anyone to settle, and went straight to the other persons involved to settle it, either by a peaceable plan or otherwise, was a direct actionist. Examples of such action are strikes and boycotts; many persons will recall the action of the housewives of New York who boycotted the butcher, and lowered the price of meat; at the

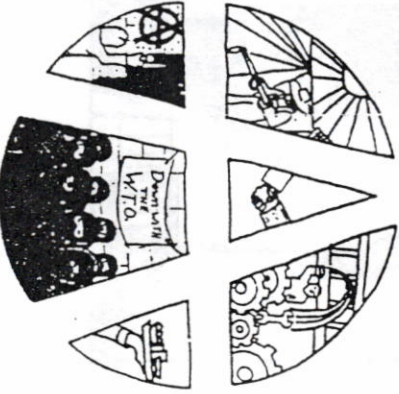
"These actions are generally not due to any one's reasoning overmuch on the respective merits for butter.

for us - indeed the assumption is that change only occurs when we act to create it. Regardless of what the action is, "if such actions are to have the desired empowerment effect, they must be largely self-generated, rather than being devised and directed from above." (Martha Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*, p. 33)

50, in a nutshell, direct action is any form of activity which people themselves decide upon and organise themselves which is based on their own collective strength and does not involve getting intermediaries to act for them. As such direct action is a natural expression of liberty, of self-government for "1[direct action] against the authority in the shop, direct action against the authority of the law, direct action against the invasive, middle-class authority of our moralistic, is the logical, consistent method of Anarchism." [Emma Goldman, *Red Emma Speaks*, pp. 62-63] It is clear that by acting for yourself you are exercising the ability to govern yourself.

Direct action meant that the goal of any and all these activities was to provide ways for people to get in touch with their own powers and capacities, to take back the power of naming themselves and their lives.
[Martha Ackelsberg, *Op. Cit.*, p. 32]

In other words, anarchists reject the view that society is static and that people's consciousness, values, ideas and ideals cannot be changed. Far from it and anarchists sup-



Women in Prison in the US: the Facts

1. As of December, 1994, there were 113,282 women in US prisons and jails, 7.37% of the incarcerated population.
2. Of the 45 women on Death Row nationwide in 1993, almost half (approximately 49%) had a history of abuse and are there for the murder of an abusive spouse or lover. Most women imprisoned for killing an abusive partner are first-time offenders.
3. Self-defense is involved in approximately 1/3 of the cases where women frequently kill men when men kill women. Over one-half of all women murdered are killed by a spouse or partner.
4. In some surveys, 90% of battered women who reported assault to the police actually did sign complaints, but fewer than 1% of the cases were ever prosecuted.
5. The rate at which women are incarcerated is faster than men and women are the highest growing sector of the entire prison population. But this is not due to increases in more serious criminal behavior. In 1979, women were sent to prison for nonviolent crimes roughly 49% of the time. In 1986, women were sent to prison for nonviolent crimes roughly 59% of the time. In 1991, women were sent to prison for nonviolent crimes roughly 70% of the time.
6. Female prisoners' family demands contact, with their male counterparts. 80% of imprisoned women have children and of those women, 70% are single mothers. Prior to their imprisonment, 84.7% of female prisoners (as compared to 46.6% of male prisoners) had custody of their children.
7. The American Correctional Association found that in a 1987 survey of 200 local jails, only 47% allowed contact visits between incarcerated women and their children. In California, only 8 out of a total of 56 county jail systems offer a special parent/child extended contact visitation program.
8. Women prisoners spend on average 17 hours a day in their cell with 1 hour outside for exercise. Compare to men prisoners who spent on average 15 hours a day in their cell with one and a half hours outside.
9. Mothers in prison are less likely to be visited by their children than are fathers because women get shipped away to other counties or remote areas of a state more often than men, and because children of incarcerated parents get moved away for foster care.
10. A survey conducted in 38 states revealed that 68% of the prisons or jails serve exactly the same diet to pregnant prisoners as to others and in most cases do not meet the minimum recommended allowances for pregnancy.
1. Incarcerated HIV infected women have no access to experimental drug trials, compassionate use and investigational new drug protocols.



PACIFISM IS THE VOICE OF THE PRIVILEGED.

IN LOOKING AT THE MOST OBJECTIVELY OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES IN NORTH AMERICA, THE INNER CITY GHETTOS, MEXICAN AND PUERTO RICAN BARRIOS, NATIVE RESERVATIONS... THE IDEOLOGY OF PACIFISM IS FAR FROM REALITY. VIOLENCE IS A PART OF DAILY LIFE.



ACISM/NATIONALISM
S DEEPLY ROOTED
CAPITALIST SOCIETY.

NATION-ALISM PLAYED
KEY ROLE IN THE DE-

VELOPMENT OF

APITAL DURING THE
LAST PERIOD OF

UROPEAN FEUDALISM

AND WAS FOSTERED

BY THE EMERGING

CAPITALIST CLASS

PRIVILEGED CLASS).



PACIFISM IS RACIST

RACISM CANNOT BE REFORMED. TO IGNORE THE STATE VIOLENCE ONTO PEOPLE OF COLOR WITHOUT DIRECT CONFRONTATION CAN ONLY BE VIEWED AS BEING OBJECTIVELY RACIST. PRIVILEGED PEOPLE MUST STEP OUTSIDE OF THEIR COMFORT ZONES.

PACIFISM/NON-VIOLENCE WILL BE/ HAS BEEN USED AS A METHOD OF CONTROLLING POTENTIALLY 'TROUBLE-SOME' SOCIAL CHANGE GROUPS. CREATING 'NON-VIOLENT' CODES OF CONDUCT FOR EVERYONE TO FOLLOW.

PACIFISM IS A PATHOLOGY

ACT IN SOLIDARITY WITH ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE AND IN SYMPHONY WITH DEFENDERS OF FREEDOM
ABOLISH THIS WHOLE FUCKING SYSTEM
SEE YOU IN THE STREETS, A.R.A.



If it's
humiliating
to be ruled
how much
more
degrading i
it to choos
our master

Detroll

Anarchists on the Move



such as the vote and free speech (used fully, used wisely and well, direct action can forever end injustice and the mastery of humans by other humans)

WHY DO ANARCHISTS FAVOR USING DIRECT ACTION TO CHANGE THINGS?

Simply because it is effective and it has a radicalising impact on those who practice it. As it is based on people acting for themselves, it shatters the dependency and marginalisation created by hierarchy. As Murray Bookchin argues, "what is even more important about direct action is that it forms a decisive step toward recovering the personal power over social life that the centralised, over-bearing bureaucracies have usurped from the people... we not only gain a sense that we can control the course of social events again; we recover a new sense of selfhood and personality without which a truly free society, based in self-activity and self-management, is utterly impossible." [Toward and Ecological Society, p. 47]

Because direct action is the expression of liberty, the powers that be are vitally concerned only when the oppressed use direct action to win its demands, for it is a method which is not easy or cheap to combat. Any hierarchical system is placed into danger when those at the bottom start to act for themselves and, historically, people have invariably gained more by acting directly than could have been won by playing ring around the rosy with indirect means.

Direct action tore the chains of open slavery from humanity. Over the centuries it has established individual rights and modified the life and death power of the master class. Direct action won political liberties

again and again that they are nothing, are insignificant and must dissolve themselves into a higher power (the state, the company, the party, etc.) and feel proud in participating in the strength and glory of this higher power. Direct action, in contrast, is the means of asserting one's individual opinion, interests and happiness, of fighting against self-negation.

"man but as much liberty as he is willing to take. Anarchism therefore stands for direct action, the open defiance of, and revolt against, all laws and restrictions, economic, social and moral. That defiance and revolt are illegal. Therein lies the sublimity of man. Everything illegal nevertheless in itself, self-reliance, and courage. In short, it calls for free independent spirits, for men who are men, and who have a bone in their back which you cannot pass your hand through." [Emma Goldman, Red Emma Speaks, pp. 61-62]

In addition, because direct action is based around individuals solving their own problems, by their own action, it awakens those aspects of individuals crushed by hierarchy and oppression - such as initiative, solidarity, imagination, self-confidence and a sense of individual and collective power, that you do matter and count as an individual and that you, and others like you, can change the world. Direct Action is the means by which people can liberate themselves and educate themselves in the ways of and skills required for self-management and liberty. Hence:

"anarchists insisted that we learn to think and act for ourselves by joining together in organisations in which our experience, our perception and our activity can guide and make the change. Knowledge does not pre-



Beyond Protest

Direct Action must be distinguished from symbolic actions. Its purpose is to exercise power and control over our own lives rather than merely voice resentment over things we don't like. Direct Action is boiling a gate rather than tying a yellow ribbon around it. This distinguishes it from actions like the "banner drops" often staged in by Greenpeace, that look militant but aren't. These actions do not directly attack the injustices they highlight, but attempt to persuade politicians to act by playing to the media and hoping to shape public opinion. They discount the independent political and economic interests of these institutions and may put activists in the ridiculous role of begging their exploiters to support changes contrary to their interests. Direct Action must also be distinguished from moral action. It is not "moral" protest. By moral protest I mean protest which seeks to change the behavior of an institution by challenging the morality of its conduct or demonstrating that an injustice has been done by it. Moral protest usually takes the form of a boycott of a product or refusal to participate in some institution. Moral protests are based on the myth that corporations and governments can be reformed by persuading them to change their conduct. Anarchists realize that nothing really changes unless we change it ourselves. Direct Action has an immediate effect on the problem in question and does not rely on affecting the behavior of others. Our own action should have such an effect that we can point it out to others as an example of how they can change - and not just protest - those things which concern them.

Dealing With the Cops

The first implication of the politics of Direct Action with regards to our relations with the police is that, wherever possible, we should disregard the authority of the police. Direct Action is action which acknowledges our own power and right to exercise it. To the same extent that we recognize the authority of the police and obey their instructions we are relinquishing our own right and power to act as we would wish to. So it is actually essential to direct action that we do not concede the right of the representatives of the state to restrict our activities. Of course, for tactical reasons, we may have to acknowledge the consequences that may occur when we ignore the law and may even have to negotiate with police in the attempt to minimize these. But it is important that, in doing so, we remember at all times that although they have the means to do so, they have no right to restrict us in our liberty. Any strategy of dealing with the police must take account of their role as a political - and ultimately a class - force. The police force exists to defend the status quo and the interests of the ruling class. Once we recognize the police force as a political institution and that its members therefore necessarily stand in a certain political relation to us then a number of things become clear. Firstly, any attempt to "win over" the police, one by one, is doomed. We can win the cooperation of the police for precisely as long as we fail to genuinely threaten the existing social order. As soon as our activities begin to threaten the interests of the state or the profits of the ruling class the police will move to disperse/arrest/beat us, as sure as night follows day. They exist to defend all that we wish to destroy. In their defense of private property and the state, the police are backed up by the armed force of the state. Behind the police lies the military who, as numerous historical examples illustrate, are ready to step in and restore "order" if the civilian population becomes too unruly.

Secondly, the fact that the police are ultimately backed by the armed force of the state determines that any attempt to resist or overcome the police through violence will ultimately fail. While the state and ruling class are secure politically and can succeed in maintaining the passivity of the majority of the population, they can defeat any attempt to threaten them through violent means. The state has more repressive force at its command than we can ever hope to muster. This is "not" a pacifist position. We have every "right" to employ force in the attempt to resist the violence of the state. Where a specific act of violence against the state will achieve a particular tactical objective, without provoking crippling repression or a disastrous political backlash, then we would be justified in committing it. But as a political "strategy", in a non-revolutionary period, attempting to overcome the state through force is doomed. There may be tactical advantages, to not antagonizing the police. But in our care to avoid creating unnecessary trouble for ourselves we must remember that the source of the confrontation and violence which sometimes occurs around the police is the police themselves in their attempts to protect an unjust - and ultimately itself violent - social order.

Dealing With the Media

Anarchists should neither ignore the media or perform for it. Instead we should remain true to our own politics and seek to achieve our ends through our own efforts. While we do so we should welcome media attention which might spread news of our activities and so help build an Anarchist movement. When we cooperate with the media we should do so without compromising the integrity of our own politics and without distorting either ourselves or our message. We must also remember that the capitalist media represent multinational corporations with their own political agenda which often "black out" or "spin" (manipulate, distort, censor, etc.) the news to influence public opinion. Rather than relying on them to communicate our message to the people we should do it ourselves. Community papers, zines, tabling projects, free radio (micropower radio) and low watt community television broadcasting are themselves examples of Direct Action in the media.

This filer is based on an essay by Rob Sparrow from the Rebel Worker Group in Australia.

ANARCHISM

A HISTORY OF ANTI-RACISM

"What do we mean by respect for humanity? We mean the recognition of human rights & human dignity in every man, of whatever race [or] color"
-Michael Bakunin, 1887

Anarchist are Free Socialists so we believe that social equality and opportunity for all people should replace property, wealth and privilege as the key value of society. We also believe that so long as governments exist they are a means to create and preserve inequality. Anarchists believe that social equality cannot be achieved without Free Association, Mutual Aid and Voluntary Cooperation. Anarchists hold that until all are free the no one is free. We believe that it is human nature to be aware of the suffering of others and that our own freedom is dependent on our willingness to fight for the freedom of others. As such its hardly surprising that Anarchists oppose racism and were frequently to be found at the heart of anti-racist struggles.

Michael Bakunin (*Three Lectures to Swiss Members of the International*, 1871) attacked the State as "the patrimony of some privileged class" and patriotism as "the solidaristic interest of this privileged class." Furthermore, "patriotism is a bad, narrow, and disastrous habit, for it is the negation of human equality and solidarity." He stated that "no war between races, nations, States, and classes has ever had any purpose other than domination, which is the necessary condition and guarantee of the possession and enjoyment of wealth." Furthermore, "at the bottom of every war lies but a single concern: plunder, the acquisition of others' wealth, and the subjugation of others' labor!" To Bakunin, the State was a set of institutions which protected the money and property of the rich and patriotism both enabled the rich to divide those who they exploited and to justify wars to make themselves richer. He criticized the nationalistic and imperialistic wars waged by France, Germany and Russia in the mid 1800s. He also criticized the use of religion to rationalize this exploitation and war.

Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (1902) was one of the first books to attack Social Darwinism, the theoretical basis of white supremacism. Kropotkin asserted that evolution was driven by cooperation and not by competition and exploitation. He challenged the idea that some people were destined to rule over others by saying that it was our natural instinct to be repulsed by injustice and exploitation. He challenged the idea that people were parochial/tribal by nature by saying that great human advances resulted from cooperation and not separatism or domination.

Rudolf Rocker's *Nationalism and Culture* (1937) was one of the seminal works of Anti-Racism, Anti-Fascism and Anti-Nationalism. Rocker, a German Anarcho-Syndicalist who escaped the Nazis, asserts that nationalism is the basis of Fascist and Stalinist tyranny and that white supremacist doctrine which was written to justify European aristocracy and nationalism is contradicted by all basic facts of biology, genetics and psychology. European race theorists even contradicted each other.

Anarchists in the International Labor Movement

By the turn of the century Anarchist ideas had spread rapidly outside the European working class and had become popular among the workers of Asia (in particular Korea, China and Japan) and Latin America. In Eastern Europe Anarchism became popular amongst Jewish communities and as people from these communities fled poverty and pogroms they brought Anarchist ideas into the USA and Britain. In the US the Anarchist influenced IWW was the first union to jointly organize "white" workers, Black workers and Chinese immigrants. In Cuba, anti-racism was a key part of Anarchist labor organizing among freed slaves, Anarchists organized unions and fought against the Spanish occupation and the late US intervention. By the early years of the 20th Century, Anarchism was already a multi-cultural movement that had spread throughout the global working class. The waves of repression against Anarchists alongside the poverty of the communities many of them came from meant that in many countries the movement included immigrants from all over the world.

CLASS WAR - NOT RACE WAR

In areas where the Anarchist movement was strong this opposition to racism and imperialism was translated into action. In 1909 Barcelona Anarchists played a major role in initiating a general strike against military conscription for the war in Morocco. In 1912 Anarchists played a significant role in the Mexican revolution with indigenous movements like the Zapatistas taking up the Anarchist demand for "Land and Liberty" and hundreds of WWI members joining the Mexican Anarchists in liberating a large section of Northern Mexico. In "Labor's Solidarity Should Know Neither Race Nor Color" (Regeneracion, 1913), the Mexican Anarchist Ricardo Flores Magón criticized Eugene V. Debs of the American Socialist Party for claiming that Mexicans were "too ignorant to fight for freedom." He urged American and European workers to follow their example. During the Russian Revolution the Anarchist influenced Makhnovist Army liberated much of the Eastern Ukraine. This area was rife with anti-Semitism; even Red Army units were responsible for as many as 500 deaths in Pogroms in 1919 alone! The Makhnovists provided arms for Jewish communities, allowed Jews to form separate units in their army if they so wished and declared:

"Your revolutionary duty is to stifle all nationalist persecution by dealing ruthlessly with the investigators of anti-Semitic pogroms [racist attacks]..."

Anarchists in the Wars Against Fascism

As Fascism arose in the 1920's and '30's Anarchists were frequently to be found at the heart of the anti-fascist movements. In 1920 in Italy, when the anti-fascist alliance Arditi del Popolo emerged to physically fight the Fascists, Anarchists were often its local organizers. In Spain, the Anarchist CNT (National Labor Confederation) successfully ran the economy of parts of Spain while fighting on two fronts against the Spanish Falange (Fascists) and their allies: the military, the aristocracy and the church (plus military aid from Mussolini and Hitler) during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). In Japan (1903-23), Anarchists organized against the imperial system and Japanese militarism. Korean Anarchists fought the Japanese invasion of Korea and for a while liberated a large segment of the north of the country. In China, Anarchist guerrillas fought the Manchurian (Monarchists), Guomindang (Nationalists) and Japanese. Chu Chia-pai, an Anarchist guerrilla organizer in Yunnan Province in southern China, patented himself after Nestor Makhno. Even after the Fascists came to power Anarchists went underground, attempting to assassinate Hitler and Mussolini on several occasions. Many died in concentration camps or were murdered by Stalinists trying to create Russian-styled dictatorships. Anarchists who had participated in the Spanish Civil War escaped to France where they fought with the Maquis (French Resistance against the Nazis) and to Cuba, Mexico and Argentina where they helped organize Anarchist labor movements.

Anarchists in the Struggle Against Imperialism and Neo-Liberalism

During the 1950s in France the Anarchist Movement opposed the French war against Viet Nam and later reacted to the start of the Algerian war of independence (against France) with the headline "North-Africa: one single people fighting against Killer Imperialism!" The French Anarchist Federation's continued opposition to the racist French governments war in Algeria were to see its meetings attacked (on one occasion with guns and grenades), its paper banned several times and in March of 1961 the office of its paper and the Paris bookshop bombed, the huge explosion demolishing the building.

During the 1950s and 1960s Anarchists participated in the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. In the 1960s and 1970s Anarchists organized against the American war in Viet Nam. Upliftings in Paris, Mexico City and other places in 1968 helped spark a growing interest in Anarchist ideas. After the collapse of Leninism in 1989, Anarchist movements appeared in South Africa/Azania (Workers Solidarity Federation), Nigeria (Awakeness League), Turkey, and Lebanon and the movement in Latin America, Asia, Australia and Eastern Europe is growing. Anarchists in Africa are organizing against post-apartheid dictatorships, labor repression and racism. Anarchists have organized movements in opposition to the 1991 Gulf War and in solidarity with the indigenous rebellion of the Zapatistas in Chiapas, Mexico.

In recent years Anarchists have participated in immigrants rights campaigns in Europe and the United States. Anarchists have organized against "workfare" (Called the "Job Seekers Allowance" in Britain), increased taxation of working people, hunger and the criminalization of homelessness. Anarchists are organizing against neo-fascism, while supremacism and institutional racism by the police, the military and corporations. Anarchists in the Black Autonomist movement have advocated self-organization within ethnic communities and workplaces as a solution to economic discrimination and institutional racism.

FUNDAMENTALS OF ANARCHISM WHAT IS DIRECT ACTION

"Direct Action" is the distinctive contribution of Anarchists in the realm of political method. Ideally, Anarchist political activity promotes Anarchism and attempts to create an Anarchist society. It seeks to establish a society without Capitalism, the State or Patriarchy where people govern themselves democratically without domination or hierarchy. This is an activity which is inescapably revolutionary in nature and which is best carried out collectively in an organization dedicated to that purpose. Anarchists show that their methods and ways of organizing work by practicing them. The best advertisement for Anarchism is the intelligence of the contributions of our activists and the success of our methods. Anarchists strive to provide living examples of Anarchism in action. Direct Action is one of the best possible ways of doing this.

Do-It-Yourself

Direct Action aims to achieve our goals through our own activity rather than through the actions of others. It is about people taking power for themselves. In this it is distinguished from most other forms of political action such as voting, lobbying, attempting to exert political pressure through industrial action or through the media. All of these activities are based on the falsehood that we are incapable of improving our own lives and must rely on others to achieve our goals for us. They concede our power to existing institutions which work to prevent us from acting ourselves to change the status quo. Direct Action repudiates such acceptance of the existing order and suggests that we have both the right and the power to change the world. It demonstrates this by doing it. Examples of Direct Action include blockades, pickets, sabotage, squatting, tree spiling, lockouts, occupations, rolling strikes, slow downs, the revolutionary general strike. In the community it involves, amongst other things, establishing our own organizations such as food co-ops and community access radio and TV to provide for our social needs, blocking the freeway developments which divide and poison our communities and taking and squatting the houses that we need to live in. In the forests, Direct Action interposes our bodies, our will and our ingenuity between wilderness and those who would destroy it and acts against the profits of the organizations which direct the exploitation of nature and against those organizations themselves. In industry and in the workplace direct action aims either to extend workers control or to directly attack the profits of the employers. Sabotage and work slow-downs are time-honored and popular techniques to deny employers the profits from their exploitation of their wage-slaves. Rolling and "wildcat" strikes are forms of open industrial struggle which strike directly at the profits of the employers.

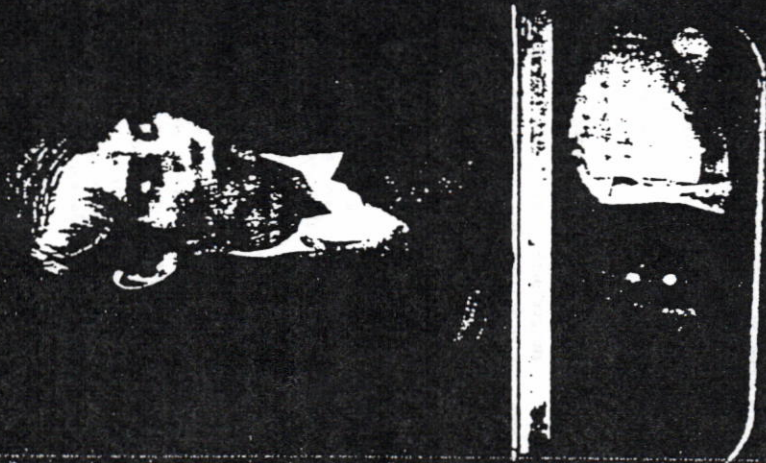
As the examples of Direct Action in the community above suggest, there is more to Direct Action than responding to injustices or threats by the state. Direct Action is not only a method of protest but also a way of "building the future now". Any situation where people organize to extend control over their own circumstances without recourse to capital or state constitutes direct action. "Doing it ourselves" is the essence of Direct Action and it does not matter whether what we are doing is resisting injustice or attempting to create a better world now by organizing to meet our own social needs. Direct Action of this sort, because it is self-directed rather than a response to the activities of Capital or State, offers far more opportunities for continuing action and also for success. We can define our own goals and achieve them through our own efforts. One of the most important aspects of Direct Action is the organization involved in order for it to be successful. By organizing to achieve our goals ourselves we learn valuable skills and discover that organization without hierarchy is possible. Where it succeeds, Direct Action shows that people can control their own lives - in effect, that an Anarchist society is possible. We can see here that Direct Action and Anarchist organization are in fact two sides of the same coin. When we demonstrate the success of one we demonstrate the reality of the other.

Ends and Means

Anarchists don't ask if the ends justify the means. We believe that the means used to achieve our goals affect the ends that are ultimately achieved. Our methods and objectives are comparable. History proves that a free society cannot be built with authoritarian methods. This is why we have historically opposed terrorism and other forms of random violence, even though the capitalist media sometimes tries to label them as "Anarchy." Anarchist politics offer people genuine hope and success in their struggle for a better world because they focus on people achieving what they desire through their own efforts. Direct Action is a crucial component of such a politics. Direct Action is also a way we demonstrate that Anarchist organization and methods are an effective means of constructive social change. We demonstrate this by applying our efforts to the political and economic realities of the society we live in. We don't want to lead a revolution, we want to create it ourselves. We call discovering what we are capable of by doing it ourselves "recapitulation" and demonstrating to others the possibilities of what can be done by what we ourselves do "propaganda by the deed."

What's the point of doing anything if nobody's watching?

We all want to be famous, to be seen, frozen, preserved in the media, because we've come to trust what is seen more than what is actually lived. Somehow we've gotten everything backwards and images seem more real to us than experiences. To know that we really exist, that we really matter, we have to see ghosts of ourselves preserved in photographs, on television shows and videotapes, in the public eye.



And when you go on vacation, what do you see? Scores of tourists with video cameras screwed to their faces, as if they're trying to suck all of the real world into the two-dimensional world of images, spending their "time off" seeing the world through a tiny glass lens. Sure, turning everything that you could experience with all five senses into recorded information that you can only observe from a distance, detached, offers you the illusion of having control over your life: you can rewind and replay them, over and over, until everything looks ridiculous. But what kind of life is that?

What's the point of watching anything if nobody's doing?

HOW TO FIGHT RACISM

WHAT WE BELIEVE

Anarchists believe in Equality between all people regardless of where their ancestors came from, what color their skin is, or where they were born. We believe in social equality regardless of ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation. We believe in an economy and community where everybody cooperates to make sure that we all can live healthy, prosperous, and pleasant lives. Anarchism is the philosophy of personal freedom, personal responsibility and mutual respect between all people. Anti-Racist Action is based on the ideas of Solidarity and Mutual Aid. Solidarity is our natural outrage every time we see an act of injustice or evil. Mutual Aid is the practice of people banding together to oppose a common enemy or confront a challenge that may seem insurmountable to individuals but, can be overcome when we work together as a group.

WHERE DID RACISM COME FROM?

Racism was invented by rich people to keep working people divided so they wouldn't unite and overthrow capitalism. Racism originated with the European class system where people had pigmented skin only if they had to work outdoors. The rich considered manual labor the duty of inferiors and therefore viewed anyone with the characteristics of a worker as below their station. The term "blue blood" originated from the ability to see a rich person's veins through their pale skin. The term "gentleman", "gentlewoman" or "gentry" referred to a person raised to believe that physical exertion was the work of inferiors. Aristocrats developed strict codes of conduct to exclude any outsider from the privileges they enjoyed. The power of the ruling class originated with ownership of the land which gave them a monopoly over food production. Control of the land eventually gave them influence over the government. Capitalism originated with traders and bankers who owned no land but, bought and sold the products of craftsmen and landowners. The invention of industry enabled these traders to outstrip the wealth of landowners. When Capitalists began to dominate the economy they aspired to live like the gentry which included their class prejudices. European countries exploring the world justified taking land from non-Europeans based on religious or cultural bigotry. Aristocrats who believed workers to be inferior saw "non-Christian" or "colored" people that they sold as slaves or forced into poverty and starvation by stealing their land as less than human (Blacks were worth 1/5 of a person in the U.S. Constitution and Native Americans didn't count). They found that they could use their armies to force these people to live on less than they paid their European workers if they told the European workers that "coloreds" would only get the dirty work they didn't want to do.

THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS RACE

Biologists have found no genetic similarity between people who have been grouped as races because of their skin pigmentation. Human blood types have no correlation with racial groupings based on skin pigmentation. Humans with different ethnic characteristics, including skin pigmentation, are capable of interbreeding. Most Americans who are descended from slaves have some European ancestry. Skin pigmentation is a product of the geographic origin of a person's ancestors. People whose ancestors lived for many generations in tropical climates will tend to develop darker skin pigmentation as a biochemical defense mechanism against exposure. People whose ancestors lived in forested regions with seasonal cold and snow will tend to be more pale. History shows that all major language groups in the world show evidence of large scale migrations throughout history. Language groups were created by trade between peoples who lived in geographic proximity to each other. There are many genetic characteristics which transcend language families. This is because most groups have interbred with other groups to a great enough degree to share these traits across ethnic, cultural or linguistic barriers.

HOW DO WE FIGHT RACISM?

The foremost thing we have to do is to attack the institutions which "legitimize" racism: Those political and economic powers which tell people that racist behavior and ideas are respectable rather than shameful. We must show that we believe racism to be cowardly, shameful and beneath contempt. We must embarrass those who are comfortable with their racism and show others who question racism that their anti-racist instincts are correct. Our best weapons against racism are our common sense and our unity against racist violence and exploitation. Our goal is social equality for all people. We will achieve this after we do away with all the institutions who depend on racism in order to exploit us. Racism is motivated by greed and perpetuated by power and ignorance. We want to abolish capitalism in favor of worker ownership and self-management of the workplace. We want to abolish governments which create division to protect a few wealthy and powerful people in favor of autonomous self-governing communities who coordinate their activities through decentralized federations. We want to create free schools in the community where children can grow up happy and without bigotry. Doing away with capitalists, bosses and professional politicians and returning control of work and the community to people who do productive labor in a society where people can have as much as they can earn by working in a single lifetime will create a society where everyone who wants to work can have a comfortable life.

OUR APPEARANCE OF CAREFUL MANAGEMENT



IS REALLY
ONLY
THE
CAREFUL
MANAGEMENT
OF
APPEARANCES.

U.S. FOREST SERVICE:
DEFORESTATION
IN DISGUISE.



*Seeds are the source of life.
People's movements are
the source of resistance.*

GUERRILLA GARDENING

Guerrilla Gardening - The Seeds of the Future

"The Land Is For Those Who Work It -
Liberty Is For Those Who Take It."

A weed is nothing in itself; it exists as such in the judgment of the world around it. A plant that someone wishes weren't growing; a people that someone wishes weren't thinking. In organic farming, weeds are often called volunteers, because every plant is useful and grows for a reason. Likewise, we are volunteers, offering ourselves where we can be used best, in this lifelong pursuit of a world that makes sense according to our long history, the one that predates the divided and muddled society.

In this day and age, growing your own food and saving your own seeds has become a revolutionary act. Creating and sustaining local autonomy free from the clutches of global financial institutions and agri-chemical "Life Science" corporations is the only alternative we have if we are going to save the planet and ourselves from extinction. We rely on large corporations for so much of the basics of our livelihood and it is time to show that there are alternatives to industrial agribusiness and that, given the opportunity and the resources, we are ready to put them into place.

We are a group of urban community gardeners in solidarity with the millions of poor farmers in the world who are being driven from their land and forced to grow cash crops by the policies of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. We are visionaries who see a future free from this corporate slavery that defines our global economy and are working daily in our communities to take back local control of our lives -- beginning with the food we eat.

As agriculturists, we recognize that the reasons we don't want monocultures of chemical industrial agriculture on our land are the same reasons we don't want a monoculture of Coca-Cola, Starbucks, and McDonalds in our cities. Global commodities cannot afford to be different and local communities and businesses are unable to survive in a world of chain stores, sweatshops, and plantations. Diversity gets in the way of profits and control. The will to dominate and control nature sees diversity as a disease and deficiency. But diversity in our lands and in our cultures is what keeps us alive and makes our lives rich. As we stand our ground we must remember that we are fighting to keep the bankers from turning the planet into a big strip mall.

It is up to us to take the future into our own hands. If we leave the responsibility of healing this world up to institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, we are dooming ourselves to a future of corporate feudalism and ecological catastrophe. For more than fifty years the record is plain and simple: the people who design the policies at these institutions are not interested in alleviating poverty and creating an equitable distribution of wealth; they are only interested in integrating people from all over the world into the market economy without regard to its impact on people's lives. Their skewed development policies kill people everyday. The World Bank and the IMF have created a system of modern day colonialism that make the people in the developing world poorer and the multinational corporations richer and take the power away from all of us. It is time to take a stand and say "no more!" This week, as Guerrilla Gardeners, we are creating our vision of the future as we want to see it, and we welcome you to join us.



and potential for dialogue regarding the reasons why such entities were targeted in the first place.

None of this is to say that property damage is necessary all the time, or is more important than any other form of protest or outreach. It is an obvious fallacy to assume that any movement would be successful without engaging in a variety of activities, particularly those which include elements of, both, public and media outreach and some form(s) of direct action, seeking to affect the company on a short term and long term basis. We must think about the progress that has been made by movements who have decided to engage or refrain from engaging in more aggressive direct action. There must be a range of tactics used to accomplish our goals, and we cannot alienate each other based on personal preferences when we are all struggling for a common goal. The companies are basking in our infighting, and in turn, we are hurting our movements and the resistance as a whole. We are fighting for freedom, not uniformity, and this includes the freedom to think, believe and act differently, but to cooperate in harmony. Our goals and ideas mean nothing if we can't even apply them today to our movements or everyday actions.

The purpose of this is not to say that property damage is necessary as part of every protest, march, or demonstration, but to encourage more of us to include it, and/or support its inclusion in the tactics which we can consider using after examining the circumstances of our situations. Those who do engage in this activity would never be so audacious to request that you participate in these activities, but only to request that you recognize and support them as having a place within the social justice movements.

On The Legitimacy Of Property Destruction

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Recent well-publicized actions of property destruction by protesters, particularly those on June 18, 1999 and during the WTO conference in Seattle, have been met, inside and outside the activist community, with harsh criticism. Especially troubling are activists who have publicly disassociated themselves from, or publicly condemned, individuals who carried out acts of property damage. As those who engaged in these actions are forced to remain anonymous, the media (let's not forget that the majority of the media is owned by, and produced in the interest of corporations) has taken advantage of their increased area of freedom, and used the terms "anarchists" and "riots" with the intention of creating an extremist-like stigma. Property damage is a form of economic sabotage, a tactic which has been used by those in social justice movements for years. As laborers have called strikes to create an economic pressure on their bosses, as consumers have participated in boycotts to financially hurt those companies engaging in exploitative practices, as people have protested businesses and encouraged others to withdraw their support, this is the principle behind those who seek to render property ineffective and useless.

Damaging the property of corporations is a tactic which is intended to slow down or disrupt normal activity, whether this be a logging operation, an animal breeding or slaughter facility, or a corporate retail outlet store, and can be carried out injuring no one except the bank accounts of the company. These acts have been referred to as acts of "violence" by both media and activists. This is an association which needs to be questioned. The extent of the violence of such acts are that they are carried out with the intent to create a sense of fear, but in that causing fear in an individual would more easily justify

the label of "violence", instilling fear in a company that they carry on their unjust, harmful practices, then more and more actions targeting them economically will ensue until they are put out of business can only questionably, at best deserve the label of violence.

Targets of property destruction are not random companies are singled out due to their practices and abuses. This eliminates the notion that protesters who incorporate these tactics into their resistance are "senseless vandals" or "anarkids". People who damage the property of companies are risking more extreme consequences so that they can send a message to the abusive businesses. Do these individuals sound like they are deserving of the title, "criminals"?

Activists have held the belief that property damage has ruined otherwise "peaceful protests". This statement in itself is to deny the legitimacy of economic sabotage in the form of property destruction as a non-violent tactic. Then, also, one must consider how realistically effective the continual use of, or restriction to, a single tactic can be. It is common sense that a single-front war allows all of an entity's resistance to focus on the single offensive. By including tactics which go beyond marches and demonstrations, we are forcing the corporations to spend their time, energy, and money to defend themselves on another front, particularly one that they fear even more than the leafleting and chanting. It is also questionable whether the WTO protests, or other demonstrations would have received the amount of media attention that they did had the property damage not taken place. The increased coverage subsequently increases the exposure

Resist the African Growth and Opportunity Act!

A NEW RESISTANCE IS BORN!

For the past year a new movement has been taking hold around the world, the movement against global capitalism. The politics around this movement are decentralized, action orientated and effective. Single issues are brought together in collective action against common enemies. Whether your concerns are around genetically modified food, racism, union busting, homophobia, environmental degradation, private property, sexism or just capitalism itself, people are taking the street together to make their voices heard. What has come of this experimental resistance is a new democratic movement that believes that the issues are as complex as our lives and that the solution is that we all must become involved in the solution.

The movement was kick started with global days of action that saw action on all 6 populated continents. People took to the streets in both love and rage. Large beautiful puppets filled the streets of D.C. to attempt to shut down the IMF World Bank meetings in April, while in Uruguay sanitation workers dumped garbage at bank entrances to protest the G8 meeting in Geneva, Switzerland last June.

What is followed has been spontaneous defiance like the Mexico City UNAM students attack on the U.S. consulate, to organized attempts to stand up to the global capitalists and their austerity programs like the general strike in Nigeria. Where will this movement lead next. It will probably lead in a billion different directions, because the fight against capitalism is as complex as our lives are. But one place it may certainly lead is Southfield, Michigan, a suburb of Detroit.

No NAFTA for Africa

On September 20-24 the African World Expo is meeting in Southfield to link up U.S. capitalists with African capitalists and to put into effect the recently passed Africa Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA).

Prior to the bill being passed 35 African NGOs issued a statement opposing the AGOA. Some of the signatories were: The Campaign Against Neo-Liberalism in South Africa, Organization of Rural Associations for Progress (Zimbabwe), Foundation for Democratic Progress (Zimbabwe), and Journalists for the Environment and Development (Angola). They stated that:

"We have seen from the ground level the consequences of following IMF policy prescriptions (which the act re-

quires nations to do) - and witnessed from afar the IMF-assisted debacle in Asia. These policies tend to undermine local business, drive up unemployment, damage the environment, harm consumers, undermine public health, and increase poverty. We categorically reject any effort to impose such policies on African countries. We reject on principle the "conditionality" approach, which tramples on the sovereignty of African nations and the democratic rights of its people to shape national policy."

The AGOA adopts the NAFTA formula for Africa: giving foreign corporations broad new rights that will increase their capacity to profit from control of African resources, while doing nothing to ensure that benefits actually accrue to African nations and people.

This NAFTA for Africa legislation also contains harsh eligibility rules that will force African nations to alter their economic and social policies and laws to suit the needs of foreign investors and the dictates of the International Monetary Fund - despite the IMF's dismal record in the region. NAFTA for Africa is supported by the multinational corporate lobby and harshly criticized by African and African-American community, church and development groups. Nelson Mandela called the bill "not acceptable."

In order to qualify for the bill's narrow trade benefits, African countries must be annually certified by the U.S. President as meeting a long list of U.S.-imposed, IMF-style conditions:

- Cutting government spending, such as further depriving vital health and education services of desperately needed funding;
- Cutting corporate taxes;
- Privatizing public assets through divestiture and opening up most areas of their economies to ownership and control by foreign multinationals, such as mines, agricultural land and telecommunications;
- Abandoning economic development policies that nurture local industry and enable it to compete globally;
- Joining the WTO, where the OECD has said African nations will be the big losers;
- Adopting policies, like the abolition of price controls, that will jeopardize food security.

In Solidarity and Struggle,
Detroit OAS Shutdown Coalition



MICHIGAN ACTIVIST LEGAL DEFENSE

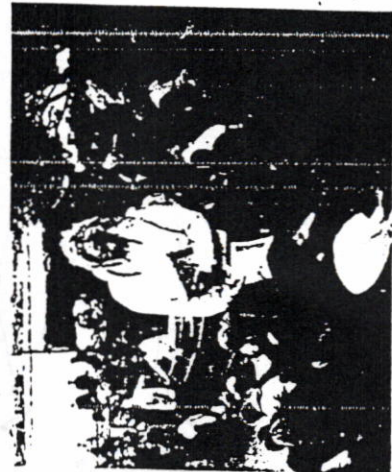
Bulletin #1 September 14, 2000

Drop The Charges Against Anti-Racist Activist Steve Swart

A member of the Lansing activist community has come under attack for his work protesting the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia this past August. Steve Swart was arrested and charged with a first-degree felony, aggravated assault, as well as three misdemeanors. While Steve is innocent of the charges, the Philadelphia Prosecutor, Police Commissioner, and Mayor have vowed to pursue the charges vigorously against all those arrested during the convention. Steve could face over ten years in prison if convicted.

Over four hundred activists were arrested during the convention and were treated to extreme brutality in the city's jails and prisons. While the local media has praised the Philly PD for being restrained during the protests, the reality is much different. While some people were arrested for participating in civil disobedience, most never got the chance. Over 40 activists were arrested for making puppets - and charged with multiple misdemeanor charges. Others who have been labeled leaders by undercover police were held on one million dollars bail. Steve Swart was only released after paying \$5,000 of his \$50,000 bail.

photo by chan boogie



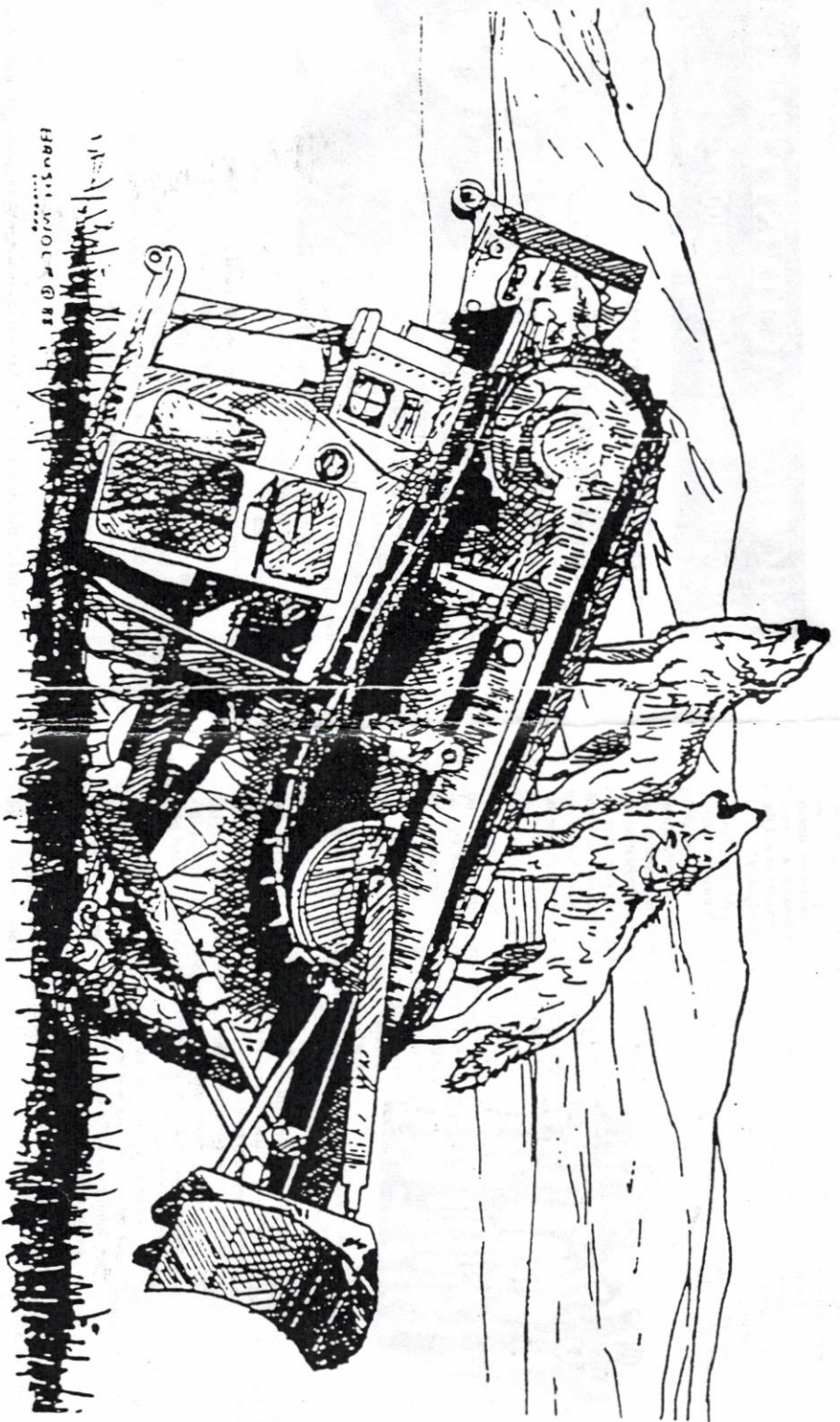
How Can You Help?

Steve Swart has already paid \$5,000 and has had to travel from Michigan to Philadelphia two times. He will have to travel back to Philadelphia probably four or five more times. His legal fees will be over ten thousand dollars. Fundraising is the biggest priority at this point. He has an excellent lawyer - but is off and he may not be able to afford the legal fees. Without good representation the Prosecutor could succeed in framing an important local activist who has been working against racism, sexism, and poverty for over 10 years.

Another way you can help is get informed and call Philadelphia officials and tell them to drop the outrageous charges being brought against hundreds of activists for peace and justice. For information on what's going on in Philadelphia check out www.theparty.sawyer.com and www.philly.mnk.org.

To Contribute to Steve's Legal Fund or for more Information Contact: much activist legal del@yahoo.com
Checks or Money Orders made out to: Steve Swart
Can be sent to: Lansing ARA Po Box 6746 East Lansing, MI 48826

GLOBALIZATION MUST BE Attacked



**A single act of defiance is worth more
than a thousand angry words**